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AND
ETHICAL MONISM

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**CHRIST IN CREATION
AND
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CHRIST IN CREATION

AND

Ethical Monism

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BY

AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG

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To
Byron E. Huntley
THIS BOOK IS
Gratefully Inscribed

PREFACE

THE title of this volume is taken directly from the first three of its essays, but it also suggests a thread of connection which runs through the entire book. Most of the papers which are here collected have previously appeared in theological or religious journals: some of them however are now printed for the first time. Addresses delivered upon various occasions are included in the number, partly in response to requests that they might be put into accessible and permanent form. With slight exceptions they are now published precisely as they were first given: it has not been thought best to deprive them of whatever local interest or significance they may have derived from their original surroundings. This may also account for possible colloquialisms and repetitions, though it is hoped that these may be found infrequent.

The author has no wish to conceal from the reader that the whole work has an autobiographical air. It is a series of guesses at truth. He trusts that the intimation of a new point of view may have its value, even though there is only approximation to a system and in spite of some remaining inconsistency. Doubts which occur at the beginning may perchance be removed farther on. The author has come progressively to the conviction that a monism which makes room for the transcendence of God and the separate personality of man—

a monism which recognizes the great ethical fact of freedom, responsibility, sin, and guilt—affords the key to the great problems of philosophy and of theology. And since the God in whom we live and in whom we have our being is none other than Christ, and since he controls the on-goings of nature and of history, we have no need to be pessimists: a courageous optimism, rational as well as Christian. These essays are presented as a small and imperfect contribution toward the truth. The author will be content if they shall serve only as stepping-stones for those who come after. As the book has been written with the intent to honor Christ, so it is now committed to the care of him in whom all things consist and who filleth all in all.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

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CHRIST IN CREATION

THEOLOGY is a progressive science, not because the truth itself changes, but because human apprehension and statement of the truth improve from age to age. Much depends upon the point of view. Augustine and Calvin looked at doctrine from the divine side, Arminius and Wesley from the human side. Our age has the advantage of a point of view which includes all the good in both of these, while it excludes their errors—we look at truth in its relation to Christ, in whom the divine and the human are indissolubly united. Theology assumes its best historic form as it becomes Christocentric and recognizes that Christ is the truth of God and the life of man.

In furtherance of this salutary movement of our age, which has in it the elements of confession and worship as well as of scientific interest and progress, I desire to speak of Christ in Creation. I am persuaded that Christ's work in human salvation cannot be rightly understood, unless we first consider his relation to the universe of which we form a part. The theme which I am to discuss is very infrequently treated. Some of the views I present may be thought new; but the unfolding of the subject will certainly enlarge our conceptions of the unsearchable riches of Christ and convince us more fully than ever before that in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

For the sake of brevity much that might properly be discussed at length must needs be assumed. Only premise, therefore, that the doctrine of the Trinity is taken for granted, as well as the peculiar office of the second person of the Trinity as the revealer of the divine Being there are three distinctions, are so described to us in Scripture that we are compelled to conceive of them as persons. The second of these divine persons is called the Word of God, and it is intimated that he constitutes the principle of objectification, consciousness, intelligence within the divine nature, and the principle of expression, manifestation, revelation, by which God is made known to other beings than himself. Christ, then, is the Reason, Wisdom and Power of God in exercise. The Father by him is the divine nature latent, unexpressed, unrevealed. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him." The temporal manifestation rests upon an eternal relation in God's being. In eternity Christ the Word, is God's truth, love, and holiness, as manifested objectively and revealed to himself. In time Christ, the Word, is God's truth, love, and holiness, as expressed, manifested, and communicated to finite creatures.

Since Christ is the principle of revelation in God, we may say that God never thought, said, or did anything except through Christ. What is more commonly recognized as true with regard to providence and redemption is also true with regard to creation—it is the work of Christ. "All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that was made." "In him were all things created, in the heavens and

upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist." Christ is the originator and the upholder of the universe. In him, the reason of God, the universe once existed as a merely intelligible and ideal world—a *cosmos noetos*, to use the words of Philo. In him, the power of God, the universe became an actual, real thing, perceptible to others; and in him it consists, or holds together, from hour to hour. The steady will of Christ constitutes the law of the universe and makes it a cosmos instead of a chaos, just as his will brought it into being in the beginning. Creation, then, is the externalization of the divine ideas through the will of Christ.

I have grounded creation in the doctrine of the Trinity. I wish now to show how Christ's creatorship saves us from a pernicious form of modern idealism. The Trinity is the organization of faculty in God. It provides for the fullest self-consciousness and the fullest spiritual life. As the life of the nervous system, the life of the circulatory system, and the life of the digestive system all go to make up the one life of the human body, so the consciousness of the Father, the consciousness of the Son, and the consciousness of the Holy Spirit all go to make up the one self-consciousness of God. There is free divine self-determination. It follows that the universe is not a merely necessary evolution of divine ideas. Christ is the power as well as the wisdom of God. Subjective idealism regards God as mind or thought, but it does not take account

of him as affection or will. It gives us a merely *ideal*, but no real, existence. It cannot show how thought-process ever results in actual being. And subjective idealism is equally powerless to explain difference between thoughts and things, between idea and its realization. It too narrowly conceives all-embracing reality. In God there is a principle of will as well as a principle of reason. The scriptural doctrine of Christ furnishes us with an element which subjective idealism lacks. Christ is the reason of God and as reason Christ has his eternal self-determining plan. These constitute the plan of the universe. But the plan is not the building; decrees are not the universe. Executive volition is also necessary. And Christ is the will as well as the reason of God. He is not only wisdom but power. Creation is his free and sovereign act, turning ideas into realities, making objective what was only subjective before. While the plan of creation is the product of his reason, the actual world is the product also of his will.

But the moment we recognize Christ as the principle of self-consciousness and of self-determination in God we clear ourselves from pantheism as well as from will-less and soul-less idealism. God is *above* all things as well as *in* all things and *through* all things. This is what pantheism denies. It holds to God's immanence without qualifying this by God's transcendence. It regards God as exhaustively expressed in the universe. The physical law of conservation and correlation of forces is supposed to explain everything. The new is not a natural evolution from the old, or is another form of the old. Now we grant that evolution is a gr

truth, but we claim that it is only a half-truth. Unless there are reserves of power, there can be no progress. Evolution, if it is to proceed toward the better and not toward the worse, requires a power and a will over and above the process, a power and a will which communicate themselves to the system and reinforce it from time to time. Pantheism, having no such power or will to appeal to, can acknowledge no supernatural and no miraculous working of God. Nature is the living garment of the Deity, indeed; but the garment is a strait-jacket from which God cannot free himself, a very Nessus-shirt which consumes even while it manifests the deity of the wearer. The Scriptures furnish us with the antidote to this systematic identification of God with nature, by telling us that Christ is *before* all things and that *in* him all things consist. The universe is not self-existent or eternal; it began to be, a certain number of centuries ago. And it had its origin, as it has its subsistence from hour to hour, in the power and will of One who is as much above it as the thinker is above his thoughts or the agent above his acts.

And this brings me to notice the other defect of pantheism, the denial of any consciousness and will in God distinct from the consciousness and will of finite creatures. We may express this by saying that God comes to consciousness only in man, or by saying that man comes to consciousness only in God. It is all one; man's belief that he is a separate creature is an illusion. God is the only reality and the only cause. My intuition of freedom is a mistake also; in reality I only act out the universal will, and that will is not free. God and the universe are but opposite sides of the same great

fact. The law of determinism applies in the sphere of mind just as the law of necessity applies in the sphere of matter. Nothing *could* possibly be but what it is. How plain it is that such a system as this makes man a mere puppet or phantom, a product of forces of which he has no control. There is no freedom in God, there is no responsibility or sin or guilt in man. Christ is the antidote to this system also. The model of all virtue is evidently free, and he convinces us of our freedom. Over against the personal God there are personal beings. God now has living subjects. A kingdom is possible, a kingdom of duty and love.

But what interpretation are we to put upon creation? It is the work of Christ; but what sort of work is it? I think we must admit that modern physics and psychology have rendered untenable certain modes of conception which our fathers held. Matter is not that blind, dead thing that it once was. Its qualities exist only for intelligence. We do not know it except in connection with the sensations which it causes. Atoms without force can *do* nothing; atoms without mind can *be* nothing. Matter, therefore, is spiritual in its nature. By this I do not mean that matter *is* spirit, but only that it is the living and continual *manifestation* of spirit just as my thoughts and volitions are a living and continual manifestation of myself. It does not consist simply of ideas, for ideas, deprived of an external object and of an internal subject, are left suspended in the air. Matter exerts force, and is known only by the force which it exerts. But force is the product of *working* in rational ways, and will is an attribute of *spirit*. The system of forces which we call the physical

universe is the immediate product of the mind and will of God, and since Christ is the mind and will of God in exercise, Christ is the Creator and Upholder of the universe.

What is the design of the physical world? Simply to reveal God, to communicate God's ideas, to make known God's will. If things about us accomplish this result, they attain the end of their being. The inner constitution of matter is a thing of indifference. Even though the heavens were found to be essentially spiritual, they would all the more "declare the glory of God." All nature is a series of symbols setting forth the hidden truth of God. Since Christ is the only being who can reveal this truth, the world is virtually the thought of Christ, made intelligible by the constant will of Christ. Nature is the omnipresent Christ manifesting God to creatures. The sunset clouds are painted by his hand; the sun that lights those clouds is itself kindled by the Sun of Righteousness. When the storm darkens the sky, the Hebrew poet can leave out of mind all the intermediate agencies of moisture and electricity, and can say, "The God of glory thundereth." The "Crusaders' Hymn" rightly identifies this God of glory with Jesus Christ :

Fairest Lord Jesus, ruler of all nature,
O thou of God and man the Son !
Thee will I worship, thee will I honor,
Thou, my soul's glory, joy, and crown.

And the Christian poet of later times expresses the instinct of the Christian heart and the teaching of Scripture when he says :

Earth has nothing sweet or fair,
 Lovely forms or beauties rare,
 But before my eyes they bring
 Christ, of beauty source and spring.

Neither the system as a whole, nor any individual thing in the system, has the principle of its being itself or can be understood by itself. We cannot explain the interaction between individual things unless they are all embraced within a unitary Being who constitutes their underlying reality. Motion cannot properly be *transferred* from one atom or one world to another. The energy of the second can be roused by impact of the first only upon the condition that there is a common ground in which they both subsist. When Sir Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravitation, he discussed the question whether attraction was a pull or a push. How can the sun pull the earth toward it when the earth is ninety-two millions of miles away? How can a thing act where it is not? Modern physicists have explained the matter by suggesting that there may be an ether which fills the intervening space. In order that this ether may communicate both the sun's attraction and the vibrations of light, it needs to be more tenuous than the subtlest gas, and yet more solid than the hardest steel. Such a medium is utterly inconceivable. Sir Isaac Newton himself favored the opposite view, viz, that attraction is a push instead of a pull. From each end of the line force is operating. How can these forces work simultaneously, regularly, and rationally, unless a rational Being exerts them? What holds together the planets of the solar system? The Scriptures answer, "In *him* all things consist," or he

together. One hand of Christ is on the sun and another hand of Christ is on the earth. His constant will gives life and stability and order to the universe.

His every word of grace is strong
As that which built the skies ;
The voice that rolls the stars along
Spoke all the promises.

Philosophy has been trying for ages to solve the problem of knowledge. How can I be sure that my sense-perceptions correspond to objective facts? that there are other intelligent beings besides myself with whom I can communicate? that there is any such thing as truth apart from my individual notions of it? Here too the solution is Christ. We have seen that he is the principle of cohesion, of attraction, of interaction, in the physical universe. It is fitting that he who draws together and holds together the physical universe should also draw together and hold together the intellectual universe. There could be no knowledge by one individual of another individual unless both of them formed part of one system of things. Knowledge is not *transferred* from one man to another any more than motion is transferred from one planet to another. The mind is never passive in knowledge; it is always active. Its own powers must be awakened; it must see for itself. What I know must be distinct from myself, it is true. Even in knowing myself I must objectify. But at the same time there must be a bond between the knower and the known. "The two must be connected by some being which is their reality" and which constitutes the ground of their existence. And so we *know* in Christ,

just as we live and move and have our being in him. He is not only the principle of communication between God and man, but also between man and the universe.

As the attraction of gravitation and the medium of knowledge are only other names for Christ, so Christ is the principle of induction, which permits us to argue from one part of the system to another. What we call the uniformity of nature, whether exhibited in the combining powers of the chemical elements, or in the general fact that like causes, whether physical or spiritual, produce like effects, is only the manifestation of an omnipresent mind and will. When I find one apple on a tree to be sour, I do not need to taste all the rest of the apples on that tree to know that they are sour also. The spectroscope tells me that the star Sirius has substances in common with our earth. A rational bond unites the most distant orbs of space. The universe is a thought; behind that thought is a mighty thinker and that thinker is Christ, the wisdom and the power of God. Now we can apply to Christ Plato's saying that "God geometrizes," and Joseph Cook's that "the laws of nature are the habits of God." Not only may we with Bowne, declare that "the heavens are crystallized mathematics," but we may find in Christ the mathematician. Since he is himself the truth of God, as well as the revealer of it, the universe with all its law and rationality *is* Christ, just as much as your body, your face, your speech, are you. To use those words which seem so sublime, but which have come to have so little meaning to us, Christ "filleteth all in all."

It would seem to follow, by logical necessity, that Christ is the principle of evolution. This great truth

has suffered at the hands of its own advocates, by being deprived of the complementary truth which is needed to give it rationality. Darwin was able to assign no reason why the development of living forms should be upward rather than downward, toward cosmos rather than toward chaos. Apart from the need of new energy to explain increase and progress, there is need of superintending and designing wisdom to bind past, present, and future together, and to make one age, either of palæontological or of human history, the preparation and prophecy of a better age to come. The Duke of Argyll told Darwin that it seemed to him totally impossible to explain the adjustments of nature by any other agency than that of mind. "Well," said the great naturalist, "that impression has often come upon me with overpowering force; but then, at other times, it all seems——" And then he passed his hands across his eyes, as if to indicate the passing of a vision out of sight. "It is a singular fact," says Frances Power Cobbe, "that whenever we find out *how* a thing is done, our first conviction seems to be that God did not do it." If Darwin had recognized Christ as the omnipresent life and law of the world, he would not have been obliged to pass his hands across his eyes in despair of comprehending the marks of wisdom in the universe. He who is "the same yesterday and to-day and for ever" is the only solution of the harmony of age with age, even as he is the only solution of the harmony of world with world. Why can there be an evolution that is rational, useful, progressive, and that combines general uniformity with occasional unique advances? John's Gospel gives us the answer, "That which hath come into being *was life in him.*"

It is only Christ, furthermore, who gives moral life to the system of things. Why am I bound to love my neighbor as myself? Because my neighbor *is* myself that is, has in him the same life that is in me, the life of God in Christ. The brotherhood of man is the moral correlate of the fatherhood of God. The law of love and holiness is only the expression of the natural bond that unites the whole universe to the great source of its life and blessedness. I am bound to love my neighbor because of what there is of God in me; I am bound to love my neighbor as myself because God's wisdom and love will be manifested equally in him. So the Christ in whom all humanity is created, and in whom all humanity consists, holds together the moral universe, draws all men to himself and so drawing them to God. He draws together all worlds as well as all men. Through him God "reconciles *all* things to himself both things in heaven and things on earth." We may well address Christ, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews addresses him: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever, and the sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom," or as our modern poet says:

Mighty God, while angels bless thee,
 May a mortal lisp thy name?
 Lord of men, as well as angels,
 Thou art every creature's theme!

So we have a new argument for the existence of God. The old argument proceeded from effect to cause, looked upon the great Artificer as creating a universe outside of himself, and then fashioning and directing it from without. That argument had the disadvantage

not being able to show that the universe, at least so far as its substance is concerned, ever had a beginning. Hume said, with some irreverence, yet with some plausibility, "I never saw a universe made; did you?" And none could answer, "Yes." The new argument avoids this difficulty. It takes the analogy of the soul and its relation to the body. How do I know that my brother has a soul? I cannot see the soul, I cannot hear it, I cannot touch it. All I see, hear, or touch is physical. Yet, knowing myself as spirit, and knowing my body as a mere instrument of my spirit, I see in my brother's face and gestures, I hear in the tones of his voice, I feel in the warm grasp of his hand, the signs of a thinking, loving, willing soul, like my own. So the whole world of nature is a sign-language. The milky-way is God's sign-manual written across the heavens. I do not need to go back to the origin of nature to prove the existence of God, any more than I need to go back to my brother's birth to prove that there is a soul behind that kindly face of his. "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge."

A manuscript of the Federal Constitution was so written that, when held at a distance, the shading of the letters and their arrangement showed the countenance of George Washington. Close at hand, the manuscript looked only like a copy of our fundamental law; viewed a few feet away, there seemed to shine through it the face of the Father of his Country. So the universe reveals God. Its laws and arrangements, narrowly inspected, have the aspect only of mechanism—you are lost amid its intricacies. But look at it more broadly, take it all in at a glance, and a marvelous impression of

system, of mind, of wisdom, of benevolence, is upon you. Through the whole, and in the whole, back of the whole, is the living God, of whom nature the constant expression.

This living God whom we see in nature is none other than Christ. Nature is *not* his body, in the sense that he is *confined* to nature. Nature *is* his body, in the sense that in nature we see him who is *above* nature and in whom, at the same time, all things consist. This is the meaning of a famous passage in Robert Browning's *Mrs. Orr*, his biographer, says that the poet spoke of her in relation to his own life, and concluded by reading to her the Epilogue to "Dramatis Personæ."

"It will be remembered," she continues, "that the beautiful and pathetic second part of the poem is a cry of spiritual bereavement, the cry of those victims of nineteenth century skepticism whom incarnate Love has disappeared from the universe, carried with it the belief in God. The third part attests the continued existence of God in Christ, as mystically present to the individual soul.

"That one face, far from vanish, rather grows
Or decomposes but to recompose,
Become my universe that feels and knows !

"'That face,' said Mr. Browning, as he closed the book, 'that face is the face of Christ. That is how I feel him.'"

With one qualification and proviso we may adopt the view of Robert Browning. Nature is an expression of the mind and will of Christ, as my face is an expression of my mind and will. Rhetorically, I can identify nature with Christ, just as I identify my face with myself. But, then, let us remember that behind and above the face is a personality, of which the face is but the part

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ETHICAL MONISM

THE tendency of modern thought in all its departments, whether physics, literature, theology, or philosophy, is to monism. Let me give one illustration from physics, a second from literature, a third from theology, and a fourth from philosophy.

In the first of these fields it would be easy to cite the distinguished Englishman, the late John Tyndall. I prefer to quote a representative close at hand. A recent utterance of Dr. Thomas C. Chamberlin, dean of the College of Science of the new University of Chicago, furnishes me with a clear statement of the monistic tendency in physics. "It is not sufficient," he says, "the modern scientific thought, to think of a ruler outside of the universe, nor of a universe with the ruler outside. A supreme Being who does not embrace the activities and possibilities and potencies of the universe seems something less than the supremest Being and a universe with the ruler outside seems something less than a universe. And therefore the thought growing in the minds of scientific thinkers that the supreme Being is the universal Being, embracing and comprehending all things." Here is monism, but apparently a monism without transcendence, a monism which sees no God before, beside, and above the universe.

Doctor Chamberlin has no intention of espousing the

cause of pantheism ; he simply presses the idea of a universe to what he conceives to be its logical conclusion, maintaining, at the same time, as we may believe, the distinction between divine and human personality, and the independence and responsibility of man. He not only concedes, but claims, that man has liberty of choice. Now we readily grant that the transcendence of God does not imply God's existence in space outside the universe—that would be to imagine a second universe which contained the first. But we do feel compelled to maintain that the universe does not exhaust God nor constitute a complete manifestation of him. "Lo! these are but parts of his ways ; but a whisper is heard of him ; the thunder of his power, who can understand?"

It is important to defend the doctrine of the divine immanence ; for "we are also his offspring" ; "he is not far from each of us" ; "in him we live and move and are." This truth Doctor Chamberlin asserts. We could wish that he had supplemented his utterance with another, which would give scientific expression to the Scripture teaching that "the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain" God, and that, while God is "in all things" and "through all things," he is also "above all things."

In the field of literature I might take John Milton for my illustration. But there is a more modern instance. Robert Browning is a monist. He holds that there is but one substance or principle of being. All things are potentially spirit ; or, in other words, the universe is a universe of spirits. Nature herself is instinct with life, and all things are the manifestation of

a divine idea and plan. In his strange poem of "Hohenstiel-Schwangau," he declares :

This is the glory that, in all conceived,
Or felt, or known, I recognize a Mind—
Not mine, but like mine—for the double joy,
Making all things for me, and me for him.

He does not hesitate to include man, as well as nature, in this monistic view of the universe. Man is, in the deep basis of his being, connected with Nature. Humanity is naturally rooted and grounded in Nature "from whom, and through whom, and to whom, are all things." In "The Ring and the Book" the soliloquizes :

O Thou, as represented to me here
In such conception as my soul allows—
Under thy measureless, my atom width !
Man's mind, what is it but a convex glass,
Wherein are gathered all the scattered points
Picked out of the immensity of sky,
To reunite there, be our heaven for earth,
Our known unknown, our God revealed to man

Professor Jones, of Wales, has given us the best exposition of Robert Browning's philosophy. He says that "while Browning insists on this identity of the human spirit with God, and declares all the phenomena of the world to be manifestations of love, he does not forget that the identity is not absolute. Absolute identity would be pantheism, which leaves God lonely, loveless, and extinguishes man, as well as his morality. In his poem entitled 'Death in the Desert' read :

“ Man is not God, but hath God's end to serve,
 A master to obey, a course to take,
 Somewhat to cast off, somewhat to become.

“ The unity of the divine and the human within the spiritual life of man is a real unity, just because man is free; the identity manifests itself through the difference, and the difference is possible through the unity.”

To this statement of Professor Jones, I may add that Browning does not attempt to explain how unity of substance between God and man is consistent with freedom, sin, and guilt in the finite creature. Yet he believes in these last as firmly as in the first. He tells us in his “ Christmas Eve ” that it was God's plan to make man in his image :

To create man, and then leave him
 Able, his own word saith, to grieve him ;
 But able to glorify him too,
 As a mere machine could never do
 That prayed or praised, all unaware
 Of its fitness for aught but praise or prayer,
 Made perfect as a thing of course.

And in his “ Legend of Pornic ” he speaks of

The faith that launched point blank her dart
 At the head of a lie, taught original sin,
 The corruption of man's heart.

In other words, the poet is a monist, but an Ethical Monist; a believer that God and man are of one substance; but a hater of pantheism, which denies God's transcendence and separate personality.

Jacob Boehme, the mystic, was a monist. But since it is my purpose to illustrate only the more recent ten-

dency to monism, let me cite a great name in theology. Dorner declares¹ that "the unity of God in God and man is the great discovery of the present age. . . The characteristic feature of all recent theologies is the endeavor to point out the essential connection of the divine and human. . . To the theology of the present day the divine and human are not mutually exclusive, but are connected magnitudes." An agnostic is no pantheist, for he also declares that God postulates a difference between the world and God, between whom religion seeks a union. Faith does not wish to be a mere relation to itself, or to its own sensations and thoughts. That would be a monism; faith desires a dialogue. Therefore it does not coincide with a monism which recognizes only God, or only the world; it opposes such monism as this. Duality is a fact, a condition of true and vital unity. But agnosticism is not dualism. It has no desire to oppose the rational demand for unity." It is this "rational demand for unity," as Dorner calls it, which constitutes the impulse of science. The modern doctrine of evolution is an attempt to meet this demand. But evolution is irrational, and gives no guarantee of useful progress in the history of life, unless it is the method of an intelligence and will, not only immanent in the system, but also transcendent, and continually importing into the system new increments of energy. Christ, the will and the power of God, is the principle of evolution; he is the principle of gravitation and of induction.

The monistic tendency of our day is essentially a philosophical tendency. No thinker of recent

¹ "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," Vol. II., 3 : 1

has had greater influence in this direction than has Lotze. He is both monist and objective idealist. Yet he holds with equal tenacity to the distinction between the divine personality and the human personality, and declares that "where two hypotheses are equally possible, the one agreeing with our moral needs and the other conflicting with them, nothing must induce us to favor the latter." He intends his monism to be an Ethical Monism, by which I mean simply a monism that conserves the ethical interests of mankind.

It is not too much to say that the monistic philosophy, in its various forms, holds at present almost undisputed sway in our American universities. Harvard and Yale, Brown and Cornell, Princeton and Rochester, Toronto and Ann Arbor, Boston and Chicago, are all teaching it. As my single illustration, I take Professor Ladd, of New Haven. In his "Introduction to Philosophy," recently published, he tells us that :

"Dualism is yielding, in history and in the judgment-halls of reason, to a monistic philosophy. . . Some form of philosophical monism is indicated by the researches of psychophysics, and by that philosophy of mind which builds upon the principles ascertained by these researches. Realities correlated as are the body and the mind must have, as it were, a common ground. . . They have their reality in the ultimate one reality ; they have their interrelated lives as expressions of the one life which is immanent in the two. . . Only some form of monism that shall satisfy the facts and truths to which both realism and idealism appeal can occupy the place of the true and final philosophy." Yet Professor Ladd says most truly that "monism must so construct its tenets as to preserve, or at least as not to contradict and destroy, the truths implicated in the distinction . . . between the *me* and the *not me*, . . . between the morally good and the morally evil. . . No form of monism can persistently maintain itself,

which erects its system upon the ruins of fundamental principles and ideas."

It is of great importance, both to the preacher to the Christian, to hold the right attitude toward the ruling idea of our time. This universal tendency toward monism, is it a wave of unbelief set agoing an evil intelligence in order to overwhelm and sweep the religion of Christ? Or is it a mighty mover of the Spirit of God, giving to thoughtful men, all consciously to themselves, a deeper understanding of truth and preparing the way for the reconciliation of diverse creeds and parties by disclosing their hidden ground of unity? I confess that I have come to believe the latter alternative to be possibly, and probably, the correct one, and I am inclined to welcome the new philosophy as a most valuable helper in interpreting the word and the works of God. Monism without much doubt, the philosophy of the future, the only question would seem to be whether it shall be an ethical and Christian, or a non-ethical and a non-Christian monism.

If we refuse to recognize this new movement of thought and to capture it for Christ, we may find that materialism and pantheism perversely launch their course upon the tide and compel it to further their progress. Let us tentatively accept the monistic principle and give to it a Christian interpretation. Let us not be found fighting against God. Let us use the new light that is given us, as a means of penetrating more deeply into the meaning of Scripture. Let us see in this forward march of thought a sign that Christ and his kingdom are conquering and to conquer.

It seems all the more necessary to take this position, because there are forms of monism which do not conserve man's ethical interests, but on the other hand sacrifice man's freedom and God's transcendence in the effort to secure scientific unity. I gladly recognize in certain of President Schurman's writings an intent to stand for man's power of initiative and to deny that spirit is determined in all its manifestations as the body is determined. In his "Buffalo Address" he says well that absolute determinism leaves no room for ideals in life and renders moral law unintelligible. As between the hypothesis that our minds are mere automata and the hypothesis that, as minds or spirits, we are actually creators, he chooses the latter and declares that "it is either *that* or a theory of our own capacity and spiritual endowments which renders moral activity, moral initiative, impossible."

Yet, in his "Andover Lectures,"¹ Doctor Schurman states his monistic doctrine in such a way as virtually to exclude both divine and human freedom: "The divine will can express itself only as it does, because no other expression would reveal what it is. Of such a will the universe is the eternal expression.² . . . Of this illimitable, ever-existing universe, God is the inner ground and substance. There is no evidence, neither does any religious need require us to believe, that the divine Being manifest in the universe has any actual or possible existence somewhere else in some transcendent sphere."³

But if God is only immanent and not transcendent, with no freedom, with no powers which are not actually

¹ "Belief in God," p. 26. ² *Ibid.*, p. 178. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 175.

working in the universe, and if all the activities of beings are to be referred to God as their source, room is left for freedom or responsibility or guilt in men? Sin becomes a necessity, an indispensable condition of virtue, a manifestation of. Though Doctor Schurman has nobly said in one "The possibility of sin is the correlative of the initiative God has vacated on man's behalf," and essence of sin is the enthronement of self,"¹ he y another place, seems to take back all he has given, he says of sin: "Without such self-absorption could be no sense of union with God. For consness is possible only through opposition. To know we must know it through not-A. Alienation from is the necessary condition of communion with. And this is the meaning of the Scripture that 'v sin abounds, grace shall much more abound.'"²

Such monism as this does not seem to be et. It gives us a God without moral character, and D. Schurman has well remarked that "a God wi moral character is no God at all."³ It regards G exhaustively expressed in the universe; nothing be but what is. It is difficult to see how anything be in the future but what now is; in other words, evolution itself can be possible. And if there b transcendent element in God, how can there be transcendent element in man? how can man po be different from what he is? how can his sin be thing more than the necessary product of nature environment? Monism will be the philosophy o future, but it will be monism of another sort, a mo

¹ "Belief in God," p. 254. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 333. ³ *Ibid.*,

which makes sin and Christ the Saviour from sin starting points and fundamentals of the system, instead of virtually explaining both of these away.

Ethical Monism is a monism which maintains both the freedom of man and the transcendence of God. I have endeavored to distinguish my doctrine from a form of monism which fails to conserve these ethical interests. I must notice another recent work in which the ethical element is seriously lacking. President Hill, in his "Genetic Philosophy," a book charming in its merely literary quality and abounding in valuable suggestion to the monistic thinker, has also erred, as it seems to me, by substantially conceding the truth of the deterministic scheme. "Biological and psychological science," he asserts, "unite in affirming that every event, organic or psychic, is to be explained in the terms of its immediate antecedents and that it can be so explained. There is, therefore, no necessity, there is even no room, for interference. If the existence of a Deity depends upon the evidence of intervention and supernatural agency, faith in the divine seems to be destroyed in the scientific mind."¹ This is apparently an explicit denial of free-will in either God or man. I know well that Doctor Hill would still assert his belief in the existence of sin and in the provision of a redemption from it. Yet I must regard his principles as logically excluding such belief and as tending to extirpate it. Determinism, in my judgment, blunts the sense of responsibility and thus obscures the *need* of atonement, as it blunts the sense of freedom in man and God and thus obscures the *possibility* of atone-

¹ "Genetic Philosophy," p. 334.

ment. Sin and salvation are both lost sight of. Neither the fall nor the guilt of the fall is any longer intelligible; neither incarnation nor resurrection is any longer credible.

Still another defect in the "Genetic Philosophy" must be noted. It virtually denies that God is spirit, and regards matter as essentially and eternally a part of his being. God is not only reason, but he is dynamic reason. He not only thinks, but his thought necessarily expresses itself in outward form. There can be no such thing in God as mere plan; execution and plan must be simultaneous. The universe never had a beginning; it has always been the living garment of the Deity. The psychical has ever the physical as its counterpart. Man, like God, can exist only so long as some organism exists as the condition and vehicle of his activity.

Attractive as this view must be to many minds, from the fact that it rids us of the mystery of absolute creation, I must regard it as both unscientific and unscriptural. If man can plan without immediately executing his plan, cannot God do as much? The "Genetic Philosophy" makes no distinction between will and energy, but we know from personal experience that the former does not necessarily involve the latter. The poet and the artist have noble conceptions, but the conceptions must be put into outward form before the work of creation is complete. So the Scripture attributes to God not only a plan which antedates creation but also an independence of material conditions. The phrase "God is spirit" means anything, it surely means this.

The phrases "before the world was," "before the foundation of the world," imply that the universe had a beginning, and the declaration that God and Christ were "before all things" implies that "things" are not a part of God or necessary to God. To make God dependent upon his universe is to ignore the Trinity, to deny that God is sovereign and self-sufficient, and to put the finite *world* in place of the eternal *Word*.

The doctrine in question misrepresents man as well as God. Man, according to this theory, can exist only so long as he has body. An intermediate state between death and resurrection, in which man is conscious, though divested of body, is plainly impossible. Yet such a state seems plainly taught in Scripture. Held in connection with the determinism previously mentioned, the view of Doctor Hill, by denying the priority of mind and claiming that matter and mind are inseparable and equally eternal, plays into the hands of materialism and greatly resembles the teaching of the Sadducees that "there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." To all these errors I am persuaded that we have the sufficient antidote only in the Scripture doctrine of creation. The logical alternative of creation is a system of pantheism, in which man has no more freedom than the brute, and God is only an impersonal and necessary force.

The Ethical Monism, then, for which I contend, is not deterministic monism; it is the monism of free-will, the monism in which personality, both human and divine, sin and righteousness, God and the world, remain—two in one and one in two—with their antagonisms as well as their ideal unity. But when I speak of ideal unity

I do not mean to favor idealism any more than I do materialism. Let me explain by alluding to one of the greatest of idealists. Berkeley held that the physical universe exists only *ideally*; it consists of the ideas of God, made permanent and visible by the divine ideas of the human spirits—the human spirit and the divine spirits have *substantial* existence. But the modern doctrine of evolution renders this idealism no longer tenable. The rock, the vegetable, the brute, all shade into one another by imperceptible gradations, and even man is acknowledged to have developed from lower orders of being. If the lower orders have only ideal existence, then man can have only ideal existence. The physical universe, including man, must be ideal if any of its parts are. We cannot draw the line that Berkeley drew, between man and the brute, calling the one matter and the other spirit. And since we cannot deny that man is substantial and has substantial existence, we must affirm that nature is spirit, and has substantial existence also.

Our system, then, is neither idealistic nor materialistic. It holds that both nature and man are manifestations of God's life. We have no difficulty in accepting Scripture teaching with regard to the self-limitation of the Logos in becoming man. We believe in such a potentiation of the divine, that the Son of God could become ignorant and weak in the cradle of Bethlehem; but we have now to learn that this depotentiation in becoming man was not the first to which the Logos submitted. There was a self-limitation also when humanity was originally created in him; since he is the only life of humanity, the race began to be, and it continued to be, only by virtue of a kenosis of the Logos.

which antedated his incarnation. Nay, we must carry our principle yet farther back. Since all things were made in him, it is his life which pervades even the physical universe, and matter itself is only the manifestation of that life in generic volitions and regular ways. As the Gospel according to John (1 : 3) expresses it : " Whatsoever came into being was life in him." Nature is spiritual because it owes its origin to Christ, is upheld by his power, expresses at every moment his mind and will, is itself his life in a lower form. Christ, the one and only revealer of God, can reveal God only by humbling himself, and the original creation of the heavens and the earth involved a depotentiation of the Logos which already prefigured the greater depotentiation of the cross.

" But why concede the truth of any monistic theory whatever ?" says one ; " first give me proof !" I grant the justice of the demand. The new philosophy must approve itself to reason, conscience, Scripture, before it has earned a right to supplant the old. Let us understand, however, what sort of proof in such a case is possible. Demonstration, whether mathematical or logical, is out of the question. The only proof which the nature of the subject admits is inductive. Modern astronomy supplanted the ancient by showing that the heliocentric theory gave a simpler and more complete explanation of the movements of the solar system than the geocentric did. So the monistic philosophy rests its claim to acceptance upon its ability to solve the problems of nature, of the soul, and of the Bible, more simply and completely than the theory of dualism ever could. The test of truth in a theory—as in the case

of the nebular hypothesis or the atomic theory in chemistry—is not that it can be itself explained, but that it is capable of explaining other things. In the preface to the chapter on “Christ in Creation,” I have made it plain. I think, that a Christian monism furnishes us with the best solution of the interactions of the physical and the intellectual universe. Does it explain the facts of the moral universe also? This is the question of interactions.

How can there be any finite personality or freedom or responsibility, if all persons, as well as all things, are but forms or modifications of the divine? How can we be monists, and yet be faithful to man's ethical interests? Neither Browning nor Dorner helps us. They only set the two truths, monism and moral freedom, by side, without showing the nexus between them. I venture to suggest that the answer to this problem also is found in Christ. He is of the substance of God, yet he possesses a distinct personality. If in the substance of God there are three *infinite* persons, why may there not be in that same substance a multitude of *finite* personalities? No believer in the Trinity can consistently deny the possibility of this. If Christ is the principle of manifestation, outgoing love, in God, then it follows that humanity, as a part of nature, is among the “all things” which “consist and hold together “in him.” In the one infinite God there are many finite sons of God. “Behold, I and the children whom thou hast given me,” I say to the Father. We are *naturally* children of God because we were *created* in Christ; we become *naturally* sons of God when we are *recreated* in Christ.

Professor Wundt, of Leipzig, and more recently Professor Baldwin, of Princeton,¹ have intimated that the integration of finite consciousnesses in an all-embracing divine consciousness may find a valid analogy in the integration of subordinate consciousnesses in the unit-personality of man. In the hypnotic state, multiple consciousnesses may be induced in the same nervous organism. In insanity there is a secondary consciousness at war with that which normally dominates. If consciousness is present in the elements of the nervous tissue apart from the unit consciousness of the organism as a whole, it need not seem so strange that in the one all-including divine consciousness there should be finite consciousnesses quite unaware of their relation to the whole, and even antagonistic to it. If matter, moreover, be merely the expression of spirit, then the body, as an object of consciousness, may well be only the reverse side of what we call the consciousness of the object. Since the all-including consciousness is that of Christ, our very bodies may be manifestations of the thought and purpose of Christ.

Hegel was very far wrong when he identified being with thought, and held that thought thinks. Spinoza was nearer right when he called both thought and extension opposite manifestations of being or substance. But Spinoza was wrong in putting extension on the same level with thought, and regarding it as equally primary and necessary. Both Hegel and Spinoza ignored the element of will, and denied freedom. Hegel recognized development, while Spinoza had no place for it in his system. The truth may be better stated as

¹ "Handbook of Psychology, Feeling, and Will," pp. 53, 54.

follows: Being *has*, not *is*, thought and will *may*, not *must*, initiate a finite universe extension is an attribute. The universe is necessary, but free; it is the manifestation of a mind and will; it may be traced back to a beginning; creation is a conception not only scientific, but comprehensible; development, or evolution, is the product of free intelligence. Instead of being agnostics bound to see God in everything; instead of finding no design in the universe, it is more true to say that there is nothing but design. We think truly, only when we enter into the thought of God; even as we will only by entering into the will of God.

I have identified this thought and will of Christ, and have said that since his is the all-inclusive consciousness, our very bodies are manifestations of his thought and purpose. Christ dwells naturally in man's physical frame, and in sinning against his bodies we are actually crucifying Christ and bringing him to an open shame. Our souls are habitually crucifying Christ also. He is the source and upholder of all intelligence and of all morality—"the light that enlighteneth every man." All literature, all history, all civilization, all religion, so far as they are true, salutary, progressive, are movements of his wisdom and power; for Christ alone is life, and that life is the only light of nature. I put the central thought in the words of Göschel: "Christ is humanity; we *have* it; he *is* it entirely; we participate therein." His personality precedes and lies at the basis of the personality of the race and its individual members.

¹ Quoted in Dörner's "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," p. 5: 170.

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As idea, he is implanted in the whole of humanity; he lies at the basis of every human consciousness, without, however, attaining realization in any individual [except the incarnate Redeemer], for this is only possible in the entire race at the end of the times."

I am well aware that the test of this doctrine must be its ability to explain the fact of sin. How can that which is of the substance of God ever become morally evil? Our only answer is: It was not morally evil at the first. God has limited and circumscribed himself in giving life to finite personalities within the bounds of his own being, and it is not the fact of *sin* that constitutes the primary difficulty, but the fact of *finite personality*. When God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of his own life, he communicated freedom, and made possible the creature's self-chosen alienation from himself, the giver of that life. While man could never break the natural bond which united him to God, he could break the spiritual bond, and could introduce even into the life of God a principle of discord and evil. Tie a cord tightly about your finger; you partially isolate the finger, diminish its nutrition, bring about atrophy and disease. Yet the life of the whole system rouses itself to put away the evil, to untie the cord, to free the diseased and suffering member. The illustration is far from adequate, but it helps at a single point. There has been given to each intelligent and moral agent the power, spiritually, to isolate himself from God while yet he is naturally joined to God, and is wholly dependent upon God for the removal of the sin which has so separated him from his Maker. Sin is the act of the creature, but salvation is the act of the Creator. To

permit finite creatures to sin is God's ineffable self-limitation.

It is an amazing thing that God could so himself as to create finite spirits capable of the purpose of their being and at the same time raging his holiness. But here too, we find the atonement in Christ. He was "the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world." The decree of redemption is as old as the decree of the apostasy. The provision for salvation in Christ shows at how great a cost to God the fall of the race was permitted. He who ordained the fall also ordained an atonement for sin and a way of escape from it. With Doctor Shedd we may say: "The commission of sin has cost God more than it has cost man. No sacrifice and suffering on account of sin has been undergone by any man, equal to that which has been endured by an incarnate God. This shows that God has not acted selfishly in permitting it." But we wish to add what has not been clearly perceived in theology hitherto, that Christ's atonement is not merely when he becomes incarnate and dies on the cross. That outward and visible union with humanity which brings him to his sacrificial death is the culmination and manifestation of a previous union of humanity which was constituted by creation, and from the moment of man's first sin, brought to the Son of God.

Can the finger be even temporarily and relatively separated from the human body and yet the body free from pain? Must not the whole organism suffer if the finger stops the free flowing into it of the life of life? Humanity is bound to Christ, as the

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the body. Christ has been in natural union with humanity from the very beginning of man's existence. Since human nature is one of the "all things" that "consist," or hold together, in Christ, man's sin is the self-perversion of a part of Christ's own body, and the whole must suffer in the self-inflicted injury of the part.

If God is holy and sin is ill-deserving, then sin on the part of finite creatures must be visited with penalty. The view of Horace Bushnell that Christ suffers in and with his creatures out of merely sympathetic love, ignores the real reason and ground of suffering in God's moral antagonism to unrighteousness. But if God's nature binds him to punish sin, then he who joins himself to the sinner must share the sinner's punishment. Much more must he who is the very life of humanity take upon his own heart the burden of shame and penalty that belongs to his members. In the work of Prof. D. W. Simon, of Bradford,¹ I find so excellent a statement of this point that I quote it here:

If the Logos is generally the Mediator of the divine immanence in creation, especially in man; if men are differentiations of the effluent divine energy; and if the Logos is the immanent controlling principle of all differentiation,—*i. e.*, the principle of all *form*,—must not the self-perversion of these human differentiations react on him who is their constitutive principle?

This is also the view of Dr. R. W. Dale, in his well-known work on "The Atonement." He too holds that Christ is responsible for human sin, because, as the upholder and life of all, he is naturally one with all men. As God's righteousness compels him to inflict punish-

¹ "The Redemption of Man," p. 321.

ment, so Christ's union with all men by creation compels him to bear it. "It must needs be that he should suffer," for only thus could "God himself and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus."

Ethical Monism throws light upon the meaning of Christ's atonement. To make plain my meaning I am tempted to quote what I have said in another position¹ with regard to Christ, as both divine and both eternal and manifested in time:

Christ is the Word of God, the divine Reason in existence. All outgoing, communication, manifestation of the Godhead is the work of Christ. God never thought anything, said anything, except through Christ. Christ is the creator and the sustainer of all. He "upholds all things by the word of his power." In him all things "consist," or hold together. The world, with its powers and laws, exists and moves only because the divine energy throbs through it all. . . . As this Logos, or Word, is the originating and animating principle of *nature*, so it is the originator and mover and has his being in him. Humanity, physically, is *created* in Christ before it is *re-created* in him. It is Christ who conducts the march of human history. . . . He is the author, the subject, the end of the Old Testament and the New Testament is simply his emerging from behind the scenes, where he has been invisibly managing the drama, to take visible part in the play, to become the lead actor in it, and to bring it to its *dénouement*. The curtain has fallen, and it will not fall until the end of the world. The appearance of the incarnate, crucified, risen, ascending Christ has given us the key to human history.

It is the manifestation to sense of what Christ, pre-incarnate Logos, has been doing ever since the first sin. But it is also the summing up and ex-

¹ "Essay on the Authority of Scripture."

of his very being. The incarnation and the atonement are object-lessons only because they are realities. God's holiness and love are focused in the cross, so that it reveals to us the heart of the Eternal, and teaches us more of him than we can learn from all space and time besides.

How can the innocent justly suffer the penalty for the guilty? How can the justification of Christ become my justification? Because "in him all things consist." There is nothing arbitrary in the process; it is simply natural law and actual fact. It is impossible that he who is the natural life of humanity should *not* be responsible for the sin committed by his own members. It is impossible that he should *not* suffer, that he should *not* make reparation, that he should *not* atone. The incarnation and death of Christ are only the outward and temporal exhibition of an eternal fact in the being of God, and of a suffering for sin endured by the pre-incarnate Son of God ever since the fall. The wrath of God against sin began to be endured by Christ just so soon as sin began. The patriarchs and prophets were saved, not so much by the retroactive effect of a future atonement, as by the present effect of an atonement which was even then in progress. The sacrifices of the Mosaic system had something behind them even then. Gethsemane and Calvary were concrete presentations of age-long facts: the fact, on the one hand, that holiness must punish sin; and the fact, on the other hand, that he who gave his life to man at the beginning must share man's guilt and penalty. But the satisfaction of justice culminates in redemption—that is, in the *conquest* of sin and death. The *eternal* atonement is not such a con-

quest. The *historical* atonement is such a conquest is not merely a manifestation, it is the objectivity of the eternal suffering love of God, and at the time the actual deliverance of our nature from its death by Jesus Christ.

The union of Christ with the race by the incarnation explains not only the necessity of the atonement and its foundation in justice, but it also shows how the work of the great Sin-bearer inures to the benefit of the race. It is easy to see how justification comes to all who are united to Christ by faith, for those who are made spiritually *one* with him become partakers of *his* justification. But how shall we make comprehensible the salvation of infants and of those who are imbeciles and idiots, never in this life come to consciousness? Their natures are perverted, the powers of evil are in them, we believe them to be saved, how? I venture to say that Christ's *natural* union with the race furnishes an explanation here. The natural and unconscious union with Christ gives to all the benefit of Christ's work for corporate humanity; it justifies him from hereditary and unconscious sin, as man's spiritual and conscious union with Christ gives him the benefit of Christ's work for the individual; it justifies him from conscious and personal sin. The other doctrine of infant salvation fails to meet the objection that guilt is taken away from none but those who are in union with Christ. The natural union of all men with Christ, "in whom all things consist," provides for man's unconscious and hereditary sin, as well as for his conscious and hereditary justification in the case of those who do not, like Esau, reject their birthright.

Here too, I am happy to quote from Professor Simon¹ a passage which shows how man's natural relation to Christ brings blessing and benefit to all who do not willfully refuse his gifts.

"Remember," he says, "that men have not first to engraft themselves into Christ, the living whole. . . They subsist naturally in him, and they have to cut themselves off from him if they are to be separate. This is the mistake made in the 'Life of Christ' theory [referring to the work of Edward White, advocating conditional immortality]. Men are [in this theory] treated as in some sense out of Christ and as having to get into connection with Christ. . . But we have not to create the relation; we have simply to accept, to recognize, to ratify it. Rejecting Christ is not so much refusal to *become* one with Christ as it is refusal to *remain* one with him, refusal to let him be our life."

So we get a clear and satisfactory meaning for that text which has puzzled so many exegetes, in which we read of "the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe." And we are also enabled to understand the meaning of Christ's own words when, in the similitude of the vine and the branches, he speaks of the multitude who are connected with him naturally by creation, but who refuse to receive his spiritual life and so are cast out and wither and are burned. It cannot be those who are *spiritual* branches of the vine that are thus cast out, for of them Christ had said that "they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand." Those who are cast out can only be the *natural* branches, which in the exercise of free-will have closed the channels of their being to all access and inflowing of the spiritual life of

¹ "Redemption of Man," p. 339.

the vine. Eternal life consists in thinking with the thought, loving with the love, and willing with the will of God; and since Christ is God manifested, made available to us, Divinity brought down to human comprehension and engaged in the work of salvation, to accept Christ is eternal life, to reject Christ is eternal death.

So "the grace of God," to use the language of Jonathan Edwards,¹ "is as organic in its relation to man as the life of his nature. Grace also reigns wherever it is given." Salvation must be by grace. For law brings no palliations. What is *is*, and that is the end. Only grace permits a personal probation of each individual after the first sin. But grace secures the attraction of all human history in the interest of salvation. As the Logos or divine Reason, dwells in humanity everywhere and constitutes the principle of its being, humanity shares with Christ the image of God. That image is never wholly lost. It is completely restored in sinners when the Spirit of Christ secures control of their wills and leads them to merge their life in his. This work Christ is carrying on over the whole earth. In the Hebrew nation he made peculiar communications of his truth. The inspiration of the prophets was "what the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify." But *all* truth, whether made known by reason, conscience, or tradition, is Christ's communication to mankind. Heathen religions, so far as they convict of sin and lead to repentance, are Christ's revelation. Because "all things consist in him," the heathen come already

¹ "Jonathan Edwards," Prof. A. V. G. Allen, p. 312.

contact with Christ, sin against light, have a just probation, are without excuse, need no further trial.

The doctrine thus propounded is a doctrine which immeasurably exalts the person of our Lord. It makes worship of Christ and dependence upon Christ rational. For Christ is practically, and so far as we are concerned, all there is of God and of the universe.

In his life the law appears
Drawn out in living characters,

simply because he is the organic law at the heart of things, both in physical nature and in the constitution of man. His life in the flesh only manifests the nature of God and the truth of being. Not only all the fullness of the Godhead was in him, but all the fullness of humanity also. When he atoned, humanity atoned. He could pay man's penalty, because he constituted the essence of man's nature. The offering in time was the outward expression of an offering that reached beyond the bounds of time. "Through the eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot to God"; the provision and the sacrifice were eternal. It was fitting that all nature should hide her face and shudder when Jesus breathed out his life upon the cross, for the sufferer was he "in whom all things consist."

Well might the sun in darkness hide
And shut his glories in,
When Christ, the mighty Maker, died
For man, the creature's sin !

I do not regard the monistic doctrine as contravening any article of the Christian faith. I rather hold

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that it furnishes a point of view from which each of these articles may be more broadly, profoundly, and successfully studied. Old objections to revealed religion disappear in the light of it. To many a perplexed believer, distressed because common explanations cease to satisfy, the new doctrine will give new faith and hope. Let me simply glance at a few problems which are thus illuminated. If Christ be the principle and life of all things, then the immortality and value of man's soul are comprehensible; the psalmist's words have their meaning: "Thou madest him a little lower than God, and he could call them gods unto whom the word of God came." Divine sovereignty and human freedom are not absolutely reconciled, at least lose their ancient antagonism, and we can rationally "work out our own salvation," for the very reason that "it is God who worketh in us, both to will and to work, for his own pleasure." The person of Christ has new light thrown upon it, for he who, as the divine reason and power, the only-begotten Son of God, in taking our human form, only limits himself by a special and permanent assumption of that which was never foreign to him, and so becomes the Son of Man. Not metaphorically and ideally, but literally and really, can it be said of Christ that, because "one died for all, therefore all (that is, all believers) died" in him, just as it had been also said of Adam that, because one man sinned, "all sinned through him. The efficacy of prayer is intelligible now; since Christ, who is with his people always, even unto the end of the world, is the connecting link between them and the whole physical and moral universe, which he "holds by the word of his power." The conversion

the sinner is simply a breaking down of the barriers which the human will has set up against the inflowing of Christ's life; sanctification is the larger and larger appropriation of this same life of Christ—an "eating of his flesh" and a "drinking of his blood."

Miracle and prophecy are relieved of their difficulties when we remember that nature is a manifestation of the mind and will of Christ, and that it is as plastic in his hand as is your thought to you, the thinker of it. Jesus can ascend into heaven from the hillside at Bethany, and he can come again in the clouds so that every eye in every part of the earth can see him; for hillside and clouds and heavens are nothing but manifestations of him. The problem of the resurrection can no longer stumble us; all physical things are but the expression of his mind and will; since he is the resurrection and the life, all that are in the tombs can hear his voice; he can raise both just and unjust, for body and spirit alike "consist," or hold together, only "in him." He can be the judge of all, for he has been the sustainer of all human life, the compacter of every joint and sinew, the observer of every human act and of every human thought. There is no escape from Christ. Though I take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the sea, the wings of the morning and the uttermost parts of the sea are themselves Christ, and I shall find that his hand leads me, and his right hand holds me. He is the one and only punisher of sin. Since "all things consist in him," the reaction of the natural laws of man's being, administered as they are by the Christ to whom all creatures and things are naturally united, is itself "the wrath of the Lamb."

How plain it is that to reject Christ is to reject Personal, deliberate, conscious turning away from is turning away from all light and love and hope mediæval story relates that when Jesus was carry heavy cross along the streets of Jerusalem, on l to Calvary, he stopped a moment at the door of a shoemaker, to ease him of his burden. But th maker came forth and brutally bade the Saviou on. For this he is condemned to be himself passing on, roaming from land to land, seeking r finding none, until Christ comes again. Gustav has given us a series of pictures of this "War Jew." The most solemn feature in them is th petually recurring cross. When the Jew lifts h heavenward, he sees the cross upon the top cathedral spire ; when he comes to the meeting ways, the guidepost makes a cross before him ; and floods, clouds and sunbeams, habitations o and solitudes of nature, are all and evermore h up to him the cross and reminding him of the On died upon it, and whom he rejected and scorned s ago. It is a parable of Christ's omnipresence. Th fering Saviour is the life of nature and of man. Th all history he is working out his atonement. The of the cross is upon every sun and star, upon chemical atom, upon the body and the soul of man. There is no other name given under h whereby we may be saved. If we accept hir become spiritually partakers of the divine nature all things are ours. If we reject him, the very in their courses fight against us, and the whole uni becomes a cross, to condemn and to punish.

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Let me then sum up my monistic doctrine by saying: There is but one substance—God. The eternal Word, whom in his historic manifestation we call Christ, is the only complete and perfect expression of God. The universe is Christ's finite and temporal manifestation of God. The universe is not itself God—it is only the partial unfolding of God's wisdom and power, adapted to the comprehension of finite intelligences. It has had a beginning—the world is temporal, while the Word is eternal. All expression or manifestation of the infinite and eternal Word under the forms of time and space must be a self-limitation. Matter is Christ's self-limitation under the law of cause and effect. Humanity is his self-limitation under the law of free-will, with its correlate, the possibility of sin. The incarnation and atonement are his self-limitations under the law of grace.

This is not pantheism, for pantheism is not simply monism, but monism coupled with two denials, the denial of the personality of God and the denial of the transcendence of God. My doctrine takes the grain of truth in pantheism, namely, its monistic element, while it maintains in opposition to pantheism the personality of God and the personality of man, though it regards the latter as related to the former, somewhat as the persons of the Trinity are related to the one all-inclusive divine personality. My doctrine maintains, with equal strenuousness, the transcendence of God, though it regards transcendence as not necessarily outsideness in space, but rather inexhaustibleness of resource within, and so conceives of evolution as the common method of God, while it leaves room for supernatural working in incarnation, resurrection, regeneration.

There are no second causes in nature. The first and laws of nature are the habits or generic volitions of God. Finite spirits are the only second causes only they have freedom. Having freedom, they do reproduce in particular acts a generic volition of God they may set their wills in opposition to God. These finite spirits are circumscriptions of the divine substance and have in them the divine life showing the infinite value of their being; but it also shows the dreadfulness of their sin when they morally separate themselves from God. While deterministic monism puts both man and God under the law of cause and effect, and so makes impossible the sin on the part of man which requires redemption and the free grace on the part of God which provides redemption, Christian or Ethical Monism holds to self-determination in God and man and maintains the reality and guilt of sin as well as the possibility and reality of grace.

Ethical Monism gives an explanation of the atonement by showing that the union of Christ with all men by creation, involves him in responsibility for their sin even though he himself is the absolutely Holy One. The union of all men with Christ, by creation, shows how certain benefits of his redemption, such as justification from hereditary and unconscious sin, may inure to all, while justification from conscious and personal sin may inure only to those who become one with Christ by faith. That all men are naturally the offspring of God, and in a subordinate sense partake of the divine nature in Christ, no more proves the future annihilation of all impenitent sinners or the future restoration of all men, than it proves the present annihilation of all

ners or the present restoration of all men. Ethical Monism holds to one substance; but it also holds to free-will, and the very dignity of man's origin makes his self-perversion the more awful. If he can resist God here, he can resist him forever, and the very fact that God has breathed into man the breath of life may only result in an immortality of misery to him who has devoted that breath of life to the pursuit of evil.

In an earlier part of this discussion I have said that the proof of such doctrine as monism must be inductive—its ability to solve the problems of existence in a more complete and satisfactory way than that of the older dualistic theory. I believe that the tendency toward monism in physical and metaphysical science, in biology and psychology, in literature and theology, shows that the monistic theory meets a great want of our time. If it can be proved that the Scriptures, either directly or by implication, teach the opposite doctrine, I shall be the first to confess the vanity of my reasoning and to return to the common view. But prolonged examination of the Bible leads me to believe that monism is itself the Scripture doctrine, implicitly if not explicitly taught, not only by John but by Paul, and I therefore provisionally accept it.

Dr. Lyman Abbott has been advocating of late the divinity of man, and Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst has been comparing the relations between man and God to the relation between the waves and the ocean. Such expressions sound dangerously pantheistic, and the last of them seems inconsistent with personal immortality. But let us not interpret these brethren too narrowly. In these rather ill-chosen phrases they are doubtless

striving to declare that God is the one and principle of existence, and that man has life on lives in God.' Pantheists like Spinoza have done so simply because there has been a great need for the foundation of their systems. It is the truth that Emerson put into verse :

I am owner of the sphere,
Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of Cæsar's hand and Plato's brain,
Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakespear's!

All this is an unconscious effort to set forth that, by virtue of his relationship to God, man is lord of nature, and that in Christ regenerate all things put beneath his feet. When Wordsworth writes :

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting, and cometh from
Not in entire forgetfulness,
Not yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home,

he is only giving poetical expression to the thought that all life is from God, that there is community between our life and the divine. Moses had declared this five centuries before when he wrote : " Lord, thy dwelling has been our dwelling place in all generations." Jesus declared it when eighteen hundred years ago that for him to live was Christ, and that not only Christ lived in him. It is "The Higher Power" of which Tennyson writes :

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
Are not these, O soul, the vision of him who reigns ?

Dark is the world to thee ; thyself art the reason why ;
For is not he all but thou, that hast power to feel " I am I " ?

Speak to him thou, for he hears, and spirit with spirit can meet ;
Closer is he than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see ;
But if we could see and hear, this vision—were it not he ?

But this " higher pantheism " is not pantheism at all, for it recognizes the great truths which pantheism denies, the separate personality of both man and God, and God's infinite exaltation above the universe which only partially manifests him ; in other words, the higher pantheism rightly understood is only Ethical Monism.

So too, we acknowledge the truth which scientific men like Darwin and Huxley have discovered, while we add to it the illuminating principle which they have ignored. So long as they refuse to recognize Jesus Christ in physics and in history, the humblest Christian knows more of the secret of the universe than they. To the Christian, the wonderful panorama of nature which Christ has caused to pass before him has become transparent, and he has seen behind it the author of all. To him the great drama of history has a unity and a meaning, for he has seen that the purpose of it all is to glorify Christ, for whom as well as through whom all things have been created. An Ethical Monism recognizes all the truth there is in pantheism, without including any of its errors. It recognizes God as the all-inclusive life of the universe, while it adds the truths which pantheism ignores—God's personality and transcendence.

The full acknowledgment in theology of this d of one substance has been delayed, for the same that the Trinity was not more clearly revealed Old Testament saints—preparatory doctrines ne be taught first. In the education of the race th ing of God's unity had to precede the teaching o trinity, because, otherwise, trinity would have b terpreted as polytheism. So the teaching of personality, freedom, responsibility, sin, has had cede the teaching that man is of one substanc God, because, otherwise, consubstantiality woul been interpreted as pantheism. But now tl enters upon a new stage of scientific comple The principle of unity has been found to be "in whom all things consist." No man can b the importance of this discovery. It will exert fluence in both philosophy and theology like that was exerted by the change from Ptolemy to Cop He who unites humanity and deity is the cent about whom revolve all the orbs of human kno and from him they derive their light. There for philosophy and for theology, because "in him all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Ch creation furnishes to both philosophy and tl their greatest desideratum—an Ethical Monism.

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ETHICAL MONISM ONCE MORE

In the preceding pages I have endeavored to point out the possible advantage to Christian theology to be derived from the modern trend of philosophic thought. I regard it as the duty of the theologian to avail himself of all the helps which science, both physical and metaphysical, may from time to time furnish. The disposition which leads one first to ask what truth there is in a new movement of the human mind which may be recognized and utilized in the interest of religion is surely more believing and more Christian than the contrasted attitude which first asks what error there is to be opposed and attacked. Christ rules in the realm of truth; all truth is his province; he is himself the Truth. We do not need to fear the truth, even though it comes to us in unwonted shapes: the form that came to the disciples over the stormy sea was not a spirit from the abyss, but was Christ himself bent upon rescuing them. Nor does it follow that a thing is not true, simply because there are questions about it to which we cannot as yet give a full and sufficient answer: our Lord gave the disciples abundant reason to believe that he was with them, even though they were not yet able to understand the way in which he had come.

The title which I have given to the discussion is "Ethical Monism." All such titles are necessary evils; they can only hint at the real subject; they leave

out quite as much as they include. In this case was special need that the title should be interpreted the discussion, and the discussion was intended to the meaning of the title plain. While by the the word "monism" I intended to suggest an hypothesis which might throw light upon some of the outlying hitherto unsolved problems of theology, I intend the use of the word "ethical," to suggest the monism in which I believed was only such a monism was consistent with the great ethical facts of life and divine personality, together with freedom, responsibility, sin, guilt, atonement, and retribution.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge the candid and generous treatment which has been accorded to my articles;¹ it has been a proof that differing minds can conduct discussion calmly and with the sole aim of ascertaining the truth. And yet I have been somewhat misunderstood; and the object of the present chapter is to remove misapprehension, while at the same time applying the new principle in one or two new directions in which, I trust, all may see its value as a solvent of difficulties. To make any further presentation of my view practicable, I must divide my critics into two classes: first, those who are unable to take seriously the latter half of my title; and, secondly, those who cannot take seriously the former half. Some have declared that I am no "monist" at all, for the reason that I am not a materialistic and deterministic monist; and I have declared that I have no right to use the

¹ It may not be out of place to here repeat that these chapters have been previously given to the public in a series of essays. This chapter plain the references here and elsewhere to their reception.

“ethical,” for the reason that I assert, in addition to the fact of individuality, a deeper fact of unity. My present purpose is to show that both of these words are used in their proper meaning, and yet that Ethical Monism is no contradiction in terms. In the course of this treatment I will briefly answer the principal philosophical objections that have been urged against my doctrine, and, after I have done this, I will speak of evolution and of atonement as interpreted by it.

Frankly and bluntly, then, Ethical Monism is dualistic monism. Dualism is a permanent and fundamental truth. If I did not believe that dualism was never to be eradicated from philosophy, never to be escaped by the sober intellect, I would never go on to add to the word “dualistic” the word “monism”; for, of the two, I am free to confess that the more practical, the more valuable, of the two parts of the title is the former. Whatever else we may be, or may not be, we must be dualists through and through, and we must never give up our dualism, because dualism is not only the necessary condition of ethics, but is also inseparably bound up with many, if not all, of those great truths which constitute the essence of the Christian scheme.

But let me define a little more clearly what I mean by dualism. There are two sorts of dualism, and in both of them I most heartily believe. On the one hand, there is the dualism of matter and mind. Matter and mind are two and not one; mind is not matter, matter is not mind; the two are inconvertible. On the other hand, there is the dualism of man and God. God and man are two and not one; man is not God and God is not man; the two are personally differentiated from

each other. These two sorts of dualism, since both postulate a soul, distinct from matter on the one hand and from God on the other, are only aspects of one truth, and I name that truth psychological dualism.

But psychological dualism is perfectly consistent with philosophical or metaphysical monism. Immense as is the importance of psychological dualism, it is not the whole truth, it is only half of the truth; it is a hemisphere which needs metaphysical monism for its complement to form with it the rounded globe of truth. Dualism is not a contradiction in terms, because dualism and the monism are asserted of different things. While in one respect I am a dualist, in another respect I am compelled to be a monist; in fact, a thoughtful dualism confesses itself to be partial and insufficient, and suggests the need of a monism which will bring the parts into a whole and give unity to what otherwise would be only fragments. While dualism truly asserts that matter and mind, man and God, are two, metaphysical monism with equal truth asserts that matter and mind, man and God, have underground connections; they have a common life, because all things, humanity included, move, and have their being in God.

Matter and mind are two, not one. But it does not therefore follow that monism is untrue. If the dualism were absolute and unqualified, no interrelation or interaction between mind and matter would be possible. Dualists who have never yet learned to supplement their dualism with monism have absolutely no link of connection between mind and matter, and they are obliged to treat the relation of the two to each other as an insoluble mystery. That the two are inconvertible things

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gard as absolutely disproving the monistic hypothesis; that the two interact should rather be regarded as proving that these two have a common ground and principle of being. The very fact that matter and mind are inconvertible makes their interaction utterly inconceivable and impossible, unless they exist in a unitary Being who is not only their author, but who furnishes the constant bond of connection between them.

That the inconvertibility of mind and matter renders the monistic hypothesis untenable—or, in other words, that psychological dualism is incompatible with philosophical monism—is a very frequent assertion; but I venture to say that it is mere assertion, without a shred of evidence to support it. It assumes an antiquated conception of what matter is and then makes this conception the touchstone of a true philosophy. It regards matter as a dead somewhat, outside of God, while mind is a living somewhat, outside of God, and then it wonders how the two get on so well together. Let these absolute dualists reflect for a moment that no dead thing can be a cause, and that no finite living thing can come into communication with that which is around it, except as that communication is mediated by a common intelligence and life.

Although idealism is not the whole truth, it is a part of the truth, and it has given us a far better conception of matter than this one of a self-subsistent yet dead somewhat, outside of God. Matter is not dead but living; it is spiritual, in the sense of being the manifestation of spirit; it is not simply the thought of God's reason, but the product of his will. Nature is the manifestation of God under the law of cause and effect, while

mind is the manifestation of God under the law of freedom. The moment matter and mind are conceived of as manifestations of God, we are rid of the notion that their inconvertibility is inconsistent with monism. Manifestations of mind are not convertible into each other. Conscience is not convertible into will nor affection into intellect. So God has decreed that mind and matter, the two manifestations of himself which constitute the universe, should be eternally inconvertible; yet this inconvertibility is not only no disproof of monism, but, when taken in connection with the fact that the two constitute a universe, this inconvertibility is itself an important link in the proof that monism is the only true philosophy.

From much recent writing it might be inferred that the combination of psychological dualism and metaphysical monism is a novel and absurd speculation. Those who occupy themselves in this criticism would do well to study Lotze and Ladd and Upton. Ladd at New Haven, in the United States, and Upton at Manchester, in England, are both teaching Ethical or dualistic Monism, and they are both following the German Lotze, the leader of the higher thought of our time. Upton says well that "no scientific account of the universe, based on the study of particular things and events, can be intelligible and adequate if it does not recognize as immanent in the plurality of atoms and of souls the presence and causality of the Eternal Self-subsistent One." And Ladd disposes of the whole objection from inconvertibility when he says that—

"The one Reality to which the contrasted phenomena, psychical and physical, are referred, may possibly choose to follow the prin-

ciple of the conservation and correlation of energy in one of its contrasted aspects and decline to follow it in the other." "Monism in the macrocosmos, the universe, does not necessarily by any means imply monism in the microcosmos, man." Yet "dualism is not the final word, not the ultimate solution of the problem of body and mind, or of nature at large, in their complex relations to each other." "Nature and body and mind cannot be left by the mind itself in this condition of separateness. . . This dualism . . . must undoubtedly be dissolved in some ultimate monistic solution. The Being of the world, of which all particular beings are but parts, must then be so conceived of as that in it can be found the one ground of all interrelated existences and activities."

A witty friend, who is by no means a philosopher, has sought to travesty my doctrine by declaring that it makes the universe to be a mere pair of tongs. Dualistic monism, he says, regards the world as having two arms and one handle. My witty friend was building better than he knew, and I appropriate his illustration. Matter and mind are indeed the two arms of the great system; but, as in the tongs, the two arms are not alike: one is fixed and immovable, a mere continuation of the handle; the other is free within certain limits to move, and it often does move, in the opposite direction to the handle. So matter is but the projection or continuation of God's regular and automatic activity, while mind has in it the element of freedom and is capable of resisting God and resisting him forever. The necessity of matter is no more convertible into the freedom of mind than the rigidity of the one arm of the tongs is convertible into the flexibility of the other arm. Yet God can work in and through this dual universe and can make both elements of it accomplish his will, the one in virtue of its necessity and the other in virtue of its freedom.

I have been speaking thus far of the dualism of matter and mind. I desire now to acknowledge with equal emphasis the dualism of man and God. God and man are two persons and not one person. God's personality is not man's personality, and man's personality is not God's. The two stand over against each other, so that there is always the possibility of communion on the one hand and of antagonism on the other. A genuine dualism is the foe to all determinism, for determinism applies to mind the law of inertia, which belongs only to matter; it declares that mind has no power of initiative, that it acts only as it is acted upon, that it acts out its character, but has no power to change its character. Such determinism, if it be logical, must identify the will and personality of man with the will and personality of God; and we may truly say that determinism without monism has more in it of the essence of pantheism than has monism without determinism. Ethical Monism, on the contrary, asserts free-will, the power to choose between motives as well as the power to choose according to motive, and so accepts the testimony of consciousness before the evil act, that we had power to do the right, and the testimony of conscience after the evil act, that we are guilty for doing the wrong.

And yet Ethical Monism maintains that this dualism is not the whole truth. Both consciousness and conscience bear witness that we are bound to one another and to God by the ties of a common mental and moral life. They recognize a light within, which does not belong to the individual alone, but which is the heritage of all the members of the race. The higher reason, the perception of beauty, the moral ideals of mankind,

have a universal character, and are not products of the single soul. There is a light that lighteth every man, and that light is none other than Christ, the light of the world. We have a natural, intellectual, and moral union with him in whom all things, including humanity, were created and in whom all things consist. Our sins may obscure this light, and may even in some cases turn it into darkness; yet in no human soul does God leave himself wholly without a witness, in no soul does he wholly cease to speak. The admonitions of conscience are felt to be thunderings from an invisible Sinai, and every several bush is felt at times to be afire with God.

Not long ago I dined with Mr. Bell, the inventor of the telephone. I said to him: "Mr. Bell, have you made any advance toward telephonic communication without wires?" "I have been working at that for years," he replied. "I will tell you what we have done. I have stationed the 'transmitter' on shore at Washington and have put the 'receiver' in a boat and have let it drift down the Potomac, and we have communicated five miles without connecting wires. You know, perhaps," he continued, "that from the mast of a vessel messages have been sent to the shore fifteen miles away, though it cannot be done from the deck." Then I asked: "What is the intermediary, Mr. Bell?" He answered indirectly: "If you have two tuning forks keyed to precisely the same note, and set one of them vibrating in one corner of the room, you know that the other in the other corner of the room will begin to vibrate also. There the common explanation is that the medium is the atmosphere. But when it comes to

transmitting sound for fifteen miles that explanation seems insufficient ; we talk about ether instead." "But if you can communicate five miles or fifteen," I rejoined, "why not fifteen hundred?" "The Lord only knows," was his answer. And it set me thinking that if two brains were keyed precisely together we might possibly communicate with London or Yokohama, and all the wonders of telepathy might have a physical basis.

But all the more would such wonders need a further philosophical explanation. The physical interaction is no more wonderful than is the mental interaction. The philosophers who oppose monism have absolutely no explanation of the interaction of mind and mind, any more than they have an explanation of the interaction of mind and matter. The communication of intelligence is not a transference any more than the communication of motion is. Nothing is lost by the teacher ; he rather gains. Intellectual causality is as inexplicable as physical causality, if there is not some unitary Being who binds all minds together. The influence of one finite intelligence upon another finite intelligence presupposes the existence and co-operation of an infinite Intelligence in which all finite intelligences have their being. And what are conscience and Scripture but means by which this same Intelligence lifts us up out of the region of our pettiness and isolation into the region of his universal and eternal truth ?

This Ethical Monism is not pantheism, because it maintains the separate personality of man and the absolute transcendence of God. I have intimated this before, but I must be pardoned for once more insisting upon it. Pantheism is indeed monism, but monism is

not necessarily pantheism. Pantheism is monism coupled with two denials: the denial of man's separate personality and of God's transcendence. Pantheism, in other words, does not admit dualism into its system; Ethical Monism embraces it as of the very essence of truth. Pantheism is scarcely consistent with the belief in personality anywhere, whether in man or in God, for the denial of freedom is the virtual denial of personality. But such personality as pantheism does admit it grants to only one, not to two. Either God has personality and then all human personality is delusive, or man has personality and God comes to consciousness only in man. No pantheist can rationally say:

Our wills are ours, to make them thine,

for not only can the human will not be different from what it is, but the human will and the divine will are already one, and only rhetorically can they be said ever to have been two. I approve most heartily, therefore, the words of a recent writer: "A system of thought which allows no real dualism of will between man and God is not a religion at all; still less is it identical with Christian theism."

Yet it does not follow that these many wills of men may not have in God the ground of their being, while yet they are capable of independent activity. As another has intimated: "With a plurality of first causes—each the *fons et origo* of a new and never-ending stream of causality—the cosmos must sooner or later become a chaos by cumulative intersection of the streams, unless the theory of monism be true." The relation of manifold dependent human wills to the one ultimate and all-

embracing will is indeed a relation difficult of comprehension. But, as I have elsewhere said, the doctrine of the Trinity furnishes us with a hint of the possibility of such a solution. In the one divine substance there are three distinct consciousnesses and three wills, or in other words three persons. And yet we do not conceive of the God as divided into three parts. The whole of the divine essence resides in the Son and in the Holy Spirit as fully as it resides in the Father. There is no abstract possibility of severance between the will of the Father and the will of the incarnate Son, and Christ says, "Not my will but thine be done." My contention is that what was only abstractly possible in the case of the Son of God has become an actuality in the case of sinful men, and that the actual sin of men can be regarded as incompatible with a Christian morality by any who grant that Christ had an independent will while yet he was of the same substance as the Father.

And yet I do not regard the doctrine of the Trinity as furnishing *more* than a hint of the possibility of multitudinous finite personalities within the bounds of a single being. Still less do I regard the existence of subordinate and "split-off" consciousnesses in man's life as more than a hint of the possibility of rebellious personalities which nevertheless subsist from moment to moment by virtue of the inflowing into them of the divine will. The fact before us is a unique fact, and we have no analogue for it as a whole. The most we can do is to illustrate successive aspects of it. I claim only that in the Trinity we have plural self-consciousnesses, though the essence of the Godhead is one; while in man's finite nature we have consciousnesses and volitions

are not only independent but abnormal. While we are monists as to substance, therefore, we may still be dualists as to personality, and may be as far from pantheism as heaven is from earth.

Ethical Monism is not pantheism, moreover, because it insists upon the transcendence of God—a truth which pantheism everywhere and always denies. Pantheism regards the universe as conterminous with God; God is only the obverse side of the universe; he manifests himself only in the universe; in the universe his wisdom and power exhaust themselves. Pantheism recognizes the immanence of God, but there it stops; since it sees in God no freedom and no reserves of power, transcendence is inconceivable and impossible. Pantheism shuts up God in the universe; nay, the universe is his everlasting prison; for the reason of God from eternity past has worked and could work in no other than this dynamic way. Matter is eternal, and has no more had a beginning than God himself. It is identical with God, for matter is no more the expression of God than God is the expression of matter. Now against this doctrine that the universe is as great as God, as eternal as God, as necessary as God, dualistic monism utters its continual protest. It traces back the universe to a beginning, while it declares of God that he is without beginning, as he is without end. It asserts that the heaven of heavens cannot contain him, but that contrariwise the whole universe taken together, with its elements and forces, its suns and systems, including all space and all time, is but a drop of dew upon the fringe of his garment, is but the light breath from his mouth, so insignificant is it when compared with its Creator, the

transcendent and inexhaustible source of all being of all life.

The universe is a manifestation of God, but it is God; much less can we give the name of God to single thing or any single being in the universe. things, all persons, all nations, all worlds, are only partial, temporal, graded, finite unfoldings of a I infinitely greater than they. God is *not* any s thing in the universe, nor is he the whole universe together, but he is infinitely above all and he infin transcends all. Dualistic monism cuts at the root pantheism, when it asserts man's freedom and C transcendence. And yet it maintains that the w universe finds its principle of existence and grou being in God. In the earlier chapter, I said that t is but one substance, and that that substance is But I used the word substance in its proper etymolo sense, as that which stands under, which unde which upholds, which furnishes the principle of and being.

The misapprehensions of my position have origina in the fact that my critics have put into the term meaning which it had in the old and outworn Hamilt ian philosophy, while I have been using it in the se which it has acquired in Lotze and the modern ideali To interpret my word "substance" after a materiali fashion, as if I meant that God occupied space : divided himself up into parts, carving man and nat out of his own physical being, is to attribute to m view against which my whole scheme of thought i protest. The infinite One does not consist of pa nor are finite and material things parts of the infin

One. As my volitions are manifestations of my mind, but are not parts of my mind, so the works of God are manifestations of God, but are not parts of God. With Upton, I not only quote the poet's words :

Every fresh and new creation,
A divine improvisation,
From the heart of God proceeds ;

but I adopt the philosophical explanation with which Upton follows them :

The Eternal is present in every finite thing, and is felt and known to be present in every rational soul ; but still is not broken up into individualities, but ever remains one and the same eternal substance, one and the same unifying principle, immanently and indivisibly present in every one of that countless plurality of finite individuals into which man's analyzing understanding dissects the cosmos.

In other words, there is but one substance, one underlying reality, the infinite and eternal Spirit of God, who contains within his own being the ground and principle of all other being. And lest any should think this to be a piece of modern pantheistic speculation, I close this part of my essay by quoting the words of Anselm, who wrote eight hundred years ago and was no pantheist. In his "Proslogion," speaking of the divine nature, he says : "It is the essence of being, the principle of existence, of all things. Without parts, without differences, without accidents, without changes, it might be said in a certain sense alone to exist, for in respect to it the other things which appear to be have no existence. The unchangeable spirit is all that is, and it is this without limit, simply, interminably. It is

the perfect and absolute existence. The rest has
 from non-entity, and thither returns if not supported
 by God. It does not exist by itself. In this sense
 the Creator alone exists; created things do not."

I have thus explained the meaning of the
 Ethical Monism, and have shown that it is dual
 in distinguishing the soul both from matter and from
 and so is utterly opposed to pantheism. Yet
 Ethical Monism holds to but one ground or principle of being
 While it regards finite spirits as second causes, it
 in the physical universe only secondary workings of
 a great first Cause. Let us consider what we mean
 when we use the term *universe*. Only the other day
 I was saying to one of my classes that we could not
 understand any one thing in the universe without understand-
 ing all things, that to know a part was impossible
 without knowing the whole of which it formed a part
 like a student whose name was not Smith, but whom I
 call Smith for the sake of euphony, did not see why
 we could not understand a blade of grass without un-
 derstanding the sun, moon, and stars. "But has not
 the sun something to do with that blade of grass?"
 I asked. "Does not gravity influence its growth?"
 "In the same way, Mr. Smith, what is gravitation? Is it
 the attraction of large masses for large masses?" "No,"
 he replied; "but also of all masses for all masses."
 "Of the largest masses for the smallest mass?"
 "Yes." "Of the smallest masses for the largest mass?"
 "Yes." "When you throw a ball into the air, the earth
 attracts the ball and the ball moves toward the earth?"
 "Yes." "When you throw a ball into the air the earth
 attracts the ball and the ball moves toward the earth?"

ball?" Mr. Smith began to see that he was getting into difficulty, but he replied, "Yes, to some extent." "But," said I, "when the earth moves, the sun has to move also?" Mr. Smith hesitated, but at length he said: "Yes, sir." "And when the sun moves, Sirius moves?" Mr. Smith gasped, but he said: "Yes." "Now, Mr. Smith," I continued, "I have not done with you yet. Have you been taught in college that accompanying every thought of yours there is some molecular movement in the brain?" "Yes, sir." "And when that molecule moves, everything else moves?" "Yes, sir." "Mr. Smith," said I, "do you mean to say that every thought of yours shakes this whole universe?" Mr. Smith brought his fist down upon the desk with a crash and shouted: "Yes, sir, I do!" "Well," I replied, "I am glad you have the courage of your convictions. I do not see how you can get out of it." "It is a mathematical fact," says Thomas Carlyle, "that the casting of this pebble from my hand alters the center of gravity of the universe."

All this is but an illustration of the implications of the word "universe," a word which we have all our lives been using with very imperfect apprehension of its meaning. It is a universe. All things move together, all things are linked together, all things are not only in logical but in vital relations to one another. It is impossible that there can be these logical and vital relations unless there is a rational Spirit whose omnipresence unifies what otherwise would be fragments, an Intelligence and Will who orders their ongoings, an infinite Life who constitutes the principle of their existence and the ground of their being. And all this is

but the republication of Scripture truth which has been neglected and ignored ; the unfolding of the old orthodoxy of Paul and of John, when they tell us that in God we live and move and are ; that in Christ, who is only God revealed, the universe consists or holds together ; that whatever came into being was life in him ; that he, the eternal Reason and Word of God, upholds all things ; that he is all and in all.

Now it will not do to say that all this unity is explicable by the mere fact of external governance and control, as if God made this a universe by simply watching over it. Modern philosophy has made the old materialistic and deistic explanations no longer tenable. The bond between God and the universe must be a closer one than this, or we cannot logically believe in a universe or a God. Materialism regarded the universe as consisting of atoms and as explained by them ; but we now perceive that atoms can do nothing without force and can be nothing intelligible without ideas. Materialistic idealism improved upon the old materialism by holding that the universe consisted of force and of ideas ; but we perceive that ideas can only belong to mind and force can be exerted only by will. Pantheism grants this, but declares that the universe is simply immanent and impersonal mind and will. Our reply is that spirit in man shows that the infinite Spirit must be personal and transcendent mind and will. Ethical Monism accepts the good and rejects the evil in all these systems when it regards the universe as a graded and partial manifestation of the divine life ; matter being God's self-limitation under the law of cause and effect ; humanity being God's self-limitation under the

law of freedom ; incarnation and atonement being God's self-limitation under the law of grace.

Matter, so far as we can know it, is nothing but force, and force is the product of will. Every impression of the outward world which we receive is mediated by some impact and vibration. This causal energy of the non-ego we are obliged to interpret by what we know of causal energy in the ego. It matters not *how* we produce effects, we know that we *produce* them, and the producing agency we call will. The effects which we call nature we are compelled to attribute to some producing agency analogous to our own, and there is no designation for this agency so simple or intelligible as the will of God. It does not matter that my volition is not itself physical force ; it is enough that it is a cause. If physical forces are causes, then I must believe that they too are essentially exertions of will, and since they are not exertions of my will, I must call them exertions of the will of God. In the words of James Martineau :

Nature is not self-active and God is not intrusive. . . God is not a retired architect who may now and then be called in for repairs. . . What is *nature* but the province of God's pledged and habitual causality? And what is *spirit* but the province of his free causality responding to the needs and affections of his free children ?

It is possible to take this, as both Martineau and Upton do, in a Unitarian sense and to talk of God alone as the life of the universe. But the only God whom the New Testament knows as active and manifested is Jesus Christ. In his capacity as revealer of God, Christ rules in nature and in history as well as in redemption, and

we scarcely use a figure of speech when we say that the hand that was nailed to the cross now wields the scepter over all. The laws of nature are but the habitual methods by which Christ our Lord manifests himself. Evolution is one method, though not the only method, of his manifestation. As there are two methods in which my own will exerts itself, so there are two methods in the exercise of his will: first, the absolute, unique, initiatory method; secondly, the relative, regular, automatic method. When I attend a church service and the benediction is pronounced, I give an illustration of the first. I put forth a deliberate and conscious effort of will. I say, "I will go home." It is a free, independent act. I can go somewhere else; I can do something else; but I determine to do this. After this decision, I put one foot before the other and there are successive acts that I perform in a sub-conscious way. These are habitual and automatic acts, yet they are acts of my will none the less. But my pursuing this course of regular action does not prevent me from changing my mind and stopping at any time I choose to do so. God's habitual actions, in like manner, are not a barrier to unique and exceptional action. As nature was due in the beginning to an act of absolute origination, so the God who originated nature is not shut up to nature; he can transcend nature; he can substitute new beginning for old regularities; he can transcend nature by miracle and law by grace. Incarnation and resurrection are perfectly possible and credible, if we once grant that God's will is capable of a two-fold activity analogous to our own.

What we call second causes in nature, then, are only

secondary workings of the great First Cause. Miracle is no more divine than is law, and the ordinary operations of nature are workings of God just as much as is the raising of the dead. While miracle is God's unique action, natural law is his habitual action. All parts of the universe are bound together by the constant, regular, rational will of Christ. Evolution has new light thrown upon it from the point of view of Ethical Monism. It is disarmed of all its terrors for theology the moment it is regarded as only the common method of Christ our Lord. It is only the scientific statement of a great Christian truth, the truth that the ever-present Christ accomplishes his purposes gradually, making the past the prophecy of the future and building the complex future upon foundations of the simple past. From lower to higher is his rule. The transcendent God is working through Christ in the whole creation and revealing himself according to an ever-unfolding plan. Creation is just as much his act as it was before, but it is creation *from within*, if I may use a spatial term of that which has no relation to space. Why can we not believe in a God who creates from within as well as in a God who creates only from without? Why can we not believe in a God who is in the process, and who manifests himself through the process, but who is yet unexhausted by the process, and who reinforces the process, at times, in a miraculous way such as Darwinism and materialistic evolution make no allowance for? Let us look upon the breaks in the orderly progress of the world, such as the introduction of vegetable life, of animal life, of man, of Christ, together with conversions like that of Paul, and reformations like that of Lu-

ther, simply as movements of the Spirit of God within. I do not deny creation; I believe in it with my heart. The world has had a beginning, and it is work of God's sovereign power in Christ. But I no longer conceive of the successive acts of creation as bringing into being out of nothing of new substances that are outside of and different from God. I believe in creation, but I have a new conception of the method of creation. I interpret it from the point of view of God's immanence, and I regard God's transcendence as inexhaustibleness of resource rather than as mere vastness in space.

How long a time is occupied each year by the actual growth of the tree? Some people have the notion that the tree grows all the year round. But the trained forester knows that the deposit of woody matter between the bark and the trunk goes on for less than six weeks. There comes a month of sunshine and south wind in springtime, and suddenly the long winter's quiet is broken and the work of a whole year is done. Outward influences are occasions, but the cause is within, and the uniqueness and rapidity of the effect do not blind us to the fact that intermittency may be the method of its activity. So all physical elements are perfectly plastic in God's hands, and miracle is just as credible as regular and uniform action, if the need of it in the moral development of the universe is only demonstrated. If natural law is only the common activity of God, then miracle becomes comprehensible, for there is a present God working it, and what seems a sudden break and change is only the putting forth in greater energy of the same divine will that constitutes the essence of nature.

It is this unification of all things in God that gives religion its new claim upon our time. George John Romanes could not see the cogency of the argument from special design, but at last the conviction was borne in upon him that it was irrational to deny design in the whole.

“How is it,” he says, “that all physical causes conspire, by their united action, to the production of a general order of nature? It is against all analogy to suppose that such an end as this can be accomplished by such means as . . . mere chance or the fortuitous concourse of atoms. We are led by the most fundamental dictates of our reason to conclude that there must be some cause for this co-operation of causes.”

And Romanes, after twenty-five years in which no prayer was uttered because second causes seemed to exclude a First Cause, was brought back to prayer and faith and Christ and the church by considering that, “if there be a personal God, no reason can be assigned why he should not be immanent in nature, or why all [natural] causation should not be the immediate expression of his will. . . It is no argument against the divine origin of any thing or event to prove that it is due to natural causation.”

“How true it is,” as this long struggling but finally triumphant seeker after truth declares, “how true it is that God is still grudged his own universe, as far and as often as he possibly can be.” It is a great gain to religion to learn that second causes are but secondary workings of the great First Cause. Ethical Monism finds this Cause in Christ—it is he alone who makes this a universe. And this is true even in spite of the existence of moral evil. The regularities of natural

law are teaching us something of the solemn uniformity of moral law. Heredity is making comprehensible the doctrine of original sin. The principle of evolution is enabling us to understand the development of the race in its apostasy as well as in its renewal by divine grace. Darwin acknowledged that natural selection might lead downward as well as upward, and so we have human history witnessing to a gradual deterioration of early religions and of early morality. Huxley declared that the moral and religious development of the race requires the bringing in of principles that antagonize and reverse its natural tendencies, and this is precisely what is made known by revelation as the method of Christ. The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus frees us from the law of sin and death, and a new and holy evolution begins, the power and principle of which is the Son of God. Why should we regret the publication and acceptance of the doctrine of evolution, if it reveals to us the method of Christ's working both in nature and in grace? We can make use of means more intelligently, we can put up with the day of small things more patiently, we can see God in the world more universally, if we believe in a divine Christ who fills all things with his life and power, and who is conducting the movements of the planets and the march of human history.

Nature reveals a present God, and evolution is the common method of his working. It is from this point of view that we explain the imperfections of the natural world. These are partial and elementary lessons in God's great scheme of instruction, to be understood only in their connection with the whole. The plan of

God is a plan of growth—not first the spiritual and then the natural, but first the natural and then the spiritual. The process is to be interpreted not by its beginning, but by its ending. Only when we see man arriving upon the scene of action, and especially when we see Christ, in whom humanity assumes its divine form, do we see the meaning of the long succession of rock and fish and beast that went before. There was much of strife and pain and death in the animal creation, but we see that all this tended to the production of higher and higher forms of life. In spite of the apparent waste and warfare, there were already impulses to paternal and maternal self-sacrifice. In every lion's den and tiger's lair there was not only reproduction, but there was care for offspring. Before you can have natural selection, you must have something from which to select. As Professor Drummond has so beautifully shown in his "Ascent of Man," the struggle for life is accompanied and even preceded by struggle for the life of others. The dominating thought of the whole system is that of improvement by self-sacrifice, the subordination of the selfish to the social, the bringing in of larger and broader and better life by the surrender of individual and local and narrow interests. In short, the principle of the cross is seen in the whole creation. The final self-sacrifice and self-surrender of the Son of God is already typified and prophesied in the self-abnegation of the lower orders of existence, and even the beginnings of altruism are explicable only when we remember that Christ is the life of all.

The critics of Ethical Monism are troubled because they fancy that the doctrine represents God as incar-

nated in the clod, the stone, the tiger, and the snake, not to speak of the idiot and the devil. But their feet are without foundation. These creations of God are only varied manifestations of his creative wisdom or his punitive justice, while in Christ alone is he incarnated. Ethical Monism makes man and not God responsible for physical and moral evil.

We can meet the difficulty, however, only by going to the root of it, and this we proceed to do. We suppose that even the critics will agree that the lowest and the most abnormal types of creation derived their being originally from God, and, however much they may have fallen from their first estate, are still upheld by him from hour to hour. The only controversy is with regard to the method of this creation and upholding. The claim of Ethical Monism is that no creature of God is self-subsistent, but that all live in him. The opposite view is essentially deistic. It puts dishonor upon God's works by ignoring the life of God which is in them all. It is only because of this immanence of God in his universe that the study of the diatom and the rock, the chemical atom and the starry firmament, the infant mind and the developed soul, are of any dignity or significance. Not only do the heavens declare the glory of God, but all his works praise him; yes, even the wild beasts of the forest manifest his skill and wisdom. Satan has entered into the creation and has to a large extent warped and perverted it. The laws of nature, which are only the habits of God, are so ordained that they detect and expose and punish this sin—the earth itself, in fact, is devised as the congruous theatre for the grand drama of moral apostasy and recovery. But just :

God ordains sin only in the sense of permitting it, so he ordains the tiger and the snake, in part at least, as incidents of sin and as illustrations of its consequences. The animal nature in man is a good thing ; it becomes evil only when it rebels against the higher nature and subjects that higher nature to its control. If we can recognize a divine element in man, we can also recognize a divine element in the brute beasts which are mere appendages of man and share in his pain and degradation. The whole creation that groans and travails in pain together is but the inarticulate expression of the Spirit, who grieves over the ruin sin has wrought and fills with sympathetic groaning the heart of the Christian. God is not a simple being, lifted up above all the sorrow of the world ; he is infinitely complex. As Tennyson has written :

All nature widens upward : evermore
 The simpler essence lower lies ;
 More complex is more perfect, owning more
 Discourse, more widely wise ;

and it is only when we gather together the results of the study of the whole cosmos, animate and inanimate, rational and irrational, and see it dominated by a moral purpose and summed up in Christ, that we can begin to discern the manifold wisdom of God.

There is a dualism in nature, then, that reflects the dualism in man ; or, rather, God's regular volitions, which constitute nature, only illustrate and reflect the warring state of man's soul. The beasts of the field and the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea have been put under man's feet. Since man is a fallen being, they participate in his abnormality. The same God who

brings disease to man's body as the penalty of his reveals his justice in nature, man's larger tenement dwelling-place, by involving it in blight and earthquake, pain and corruption and death. And it is no more neath God's dignity thus to *manifest* himself in nature and in the brute than it was on the old theory for God to *create* nature and the brute. In fact the difference between the old theory and the new is not a difference in facts, but a difference in the interpretation of the facts. And my claim is that the monistic solution is every way preferable to that of absolute and unqualified dualism. The problem is a difficult one at best, but the universe that manifests God is more intelligible than the universe that is forsaken by God.

And yet I accept Ethical Monism because of the light which it throws upon the atonement rather than for the sake of its Christian explanation of evolution. For many years my classes propounded to me the question: How could Christ justly bear the sins of mankind? The theories which held to an external and mechanical transfer of guilt became increasingly untenable, yet Scripture and the Christian conscience alike declared that only by his stripes we were healed. It was a great day for me when I first saw that there was a natural union of Christ with all men which preceded the incarnation—that all men in fact were created and had their being in him, and that therefore he was the ground and principle of their life, though personally pure, must bear their sins and iniquities. I see that the incarnation and suffering of the Son of God in history were only the manifestation and visible setting forth in time and space of a great atonement by the

Lamb who was slain from the foundation of the world. It was through the eternal Spirit that he offered himself without spot to God, and his historical suffering redeemed the race only because it was the manifestation of an everlasting fact in the being of God.

Three objections have been urged against this explanation of the atonement, and a brief consideration of them must conclude my discussion. It has been said that this view makes Christ's atonement compulsory; makes it universal and eternal both in the case of angels and of men; makes the offerer of it no more divine than all the sons of men are divine. To the objection that it makes Christ's atonement compulsory, I reply that the doctrine only puts Christ's original act of free surrender farther back and makes the sacrifice contemporaneous with creation. If the great plan of the universe held its own, then it must needs be that Christ should suffer. But the plan of the universe was conceived in perfect freedom. That free and eternal act of choice was ratified, moreover, in every successive act of Christ's human life. With every new exigency there arose the question whether present feeling or past consecration should rule, and in every case the decision was freely made to keep his will in accord with the will of the Father. There was ever the abstract possibility of inconsistency. The same freedom which initiated the plan might abrogate the plan; the same will that created humanity might annihilate humanity. Christ could call upon his Father and twelve legions of angels would come forth to rescue him. But his freedom was identical with moral necessity; the cup which his Father gave him to drink, should he not drink it?

Just as we do not minimize the humiliation of the Son of God, but rather enlarge our conceptions of it by conceiving of it as determined upon in eternity in the bosom of the Father, so we do not minimize the atonement, but rather enlarge our conceptions of it when we say that the historical process was the manifestation and fulfillment of an age-long suffering endured by Christ on account of his connection with the race from the very first moment of their sin.

Indeed, I am persuaded that only when we regard Christ's suffering for sin in the flesh as the culmination and expression of his natural relation to humanity can we deliver his atonement from the charge of arbitrariness or claim for it the confidence of thoughtful men. But this suggests the second objection that, if the atonement is the result of Christ's natural union with humanity, then Christ's atonement has not ceased, his sacrifice is perpetual, and so long as sin exists Christ must suffer. I accept all the consequences and I affirm that the Scripture gives me warrant for so doing. A God of love and holiness must be a God of suffering just so certainly as there is sin. To say that he can look unmoved upon the impurity and misery of his creatures is to deny his essential deity. The Holy Spirit, who strove with men before the incarnation, is grieved by the sins of Christians since the incarnation, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ. Paul declares that he fills up that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church; in other words, Christ still suffers in the believers who are his body. The historical suffering, indeed, is ended; the agony of Golgotha is finished; the days when joy

was swallowed up in sorrow are past ; death has now no more dominion over our Lord. But sorrow for sin is not ended ; it still continues and will continue so long as sin exists. But it does not now militate against Christ's blessedness, because the sorrow is overbalanced and overborne by the infinite knowledge and glory of his divine nature.

There is a strange way of judging on the part of immature Christians. They fancy that joy and sorrow are incompatible. Hence they pursue joy only to find sorrow. It will help such Christians to know that only as they suffer with Christ can they reign with him, and that the reigning as well as the suffering are present facts and experiences. I need a present atonement as much as the patriarchs did. The knowledge that Christ now suffers for my sin is the strongest motive to keep me from my sin. And the duty of bearing the burden of souls will never be strongly felt until there is some understanding of the fact that Christ bears that burden and only asks us to share it with him. It is only when we know the fellowship of his sufferings that the joy of the Lord becomes ours. I know that the idea of Christ suffering in and with the whole sinning and groaning creation, bearing sorrow on account of wicked men and even of demons in hell, because he is the ground of their being and the source of their natural life, is far away from the thoughts of most men. But it is none the less rational and scriptural, for in him all things were created, in him all things consist, and he upholds all things by the word of his power. Bushnell and Beecher were right when they maintained that suffering for sin was the natural consequence of Christ's relation to the

sinning creation. They were wrong in mistaking the nature of that suffering and in not seeing that the constitution of things which necessitates it, since it is the expression of God's holiness, gives that suffering a penal character and makes Christ a substitutionary offering for the sins of the world.

Are angels then redeemed also? They too were created in Christ; they "consist" in him; he must suffer in their sin; God would save them if he consistently could. Yet the Scriptures declare that Christ did not "lay hold" of them to rescue them, though he did lay hold of the seed of Abraham. Why did he not? Perhaps because their sin was like the sin against the Holy Ghost, committed against the fullest light and leaving no susceptibility for redemption; perhaps, also, because their incorporeal nature gives no chance for Christ to objectify his grace and visibly to join himself to them. Whatever the reason for their exclusion from the provisions of redemption, we may be sure that that exclusion was not arbitrary, any more than is the election of believers. God does all for the salvation of all his sinning creatures that he can wisely and consistently do. To every sinner, even to Satan himself, it can be said, "Thou hast destroyed thyself." There is everlasting punishment, but it is not because of God's arbitrary decree. The sinner makes his own doom, in spite of all God can do to save him. Eternal punishment is the solemn correlative of freedom. The proof of man's original greatness is found in the depths of his fall. Because he was naturally a partaker of the divine nature and was made in the image of God, he could not avoid the process of evolution into a process of degra-

could reverse the ascending spiritual movement and make it a descending movement, could by the abuse of free-will turn himself into a brute and a demon forever.

Though God be good and free be heaven,
 Not force divine can love compel ;
 And, though the songs of sins forgiven
 Might sound through lowest hell,
 The sweet persuasion of his voice
 Respects the sanctity of will.
 He giveth day : thou hast thy choice
 To walk in darkness still !

But finally, does not this doctrine make any true atonement impossible by regarding Christ as no more divine than any other of the sons of men? The answer is furnished to us in the words of Paul, "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Christ is not distinguished from men in Scripture by being of a different substance from humanity, but rather by having that substance in its completeness and perfection. Unlike our limitations, all his limitations were self-limitations. He was personally distinct from the Father, but he had a common nature with the Father, so that while in one sense he and the Father were two, in another sense they were one. As Doctor Stalker has said: "Christ was not half a God and half a man, but he was perfectly God and perfectly man." All men are physically and intellectually sons of God, but since the fall only Christ is morally and spiritually Son of God. The sinless and perfect man is such because the Spirit is given without measure to him. He is the representative and ideal man, because he is the fully manifested God. Divinity and humanity are not mutually exclusive.

In rough and popular language we may say that humanity is finite divinity and divinity is infinite humanity. But since the gulf between the finite and the infinite is itself infinite, the difference between them is not simply a difference of degree, it is also a difference of kind. The anthropomorphism which is so inevitable is the normal movement of mind by which we recognize the true nature of God. When we take human fatherhood and human sonship and make them ideal and infinite, we are not misinterpreting, but only interpreting, the Godhead. Christ is the only begotten Son, because he is not only finite but infinite, the archetype and source of humanity, the original and eternal humanity in the heart of God. Of him, the eternal Son, all finite sons of God are but partial and temporal manifestations. What the Unitarian calls God we call Christ, and if the consubstantiality of man and God had been recognized a century ago by orthodox believers, the Unitarian defection would have been impossible.

I cannot think that this identification of humanity with Christ works anything but good in our interpretation of the atonement. For we need now no complicated theory of the two natures and of the union between them. We have at the same time and in the same Being complete and sinless humanity combined with suffering and atoning divinity. Man needs a human Lord and King, and Christianity satisfies this need of the soul. But the universal worship of Christ is no idolatry, because in worshiping the complete and perfect man, we are worshiping the only complete and perfect manifestation of God. The Son of Man is also the Son of God, and his human life and sacrificial suffering

the only adequate manifestations of that uncreated Being, that infinite perfection, that hidden trinitarian life, which is the ground and subject of all revelation. "No man hath seen God at any time," and him "no man can see"; "the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed him." The individual man, however exalted his powers and however noble his character, presents but a detached and colored ray of the Sun of Righteousness, in whose infinite glory all these scattered rays find their source and are blended into pure white light. Once only in the history of this sin-cursed planet the Maker of all, the Life of nature and of man, took by supernatural conception an individual human form, lived a human life, and showed by his bearing of sin and death how he had been affected by human transgression ever since the fall. Both law and grace, penalty and redemption, became personalized, objectified, demonstrated, as they could never have been while hidden in the heart of God, and so Christ became the power of God for human salvation.

My doctrine, then, is psychological dualism combined with metaphysical or philosophical monism. I trust I have made upon my readers the impression that the doctrine is thoroughly Christian, in that it exalts and honors Christ by making him Lord of all. It does this not only theoretically, but practically. It makes plain that, since he is God manifested, Deity revealed, divinity brought down to our human comprehension and engaged in the work of our salvation, he is the only name given under heaven among men whereby we may be saved, the only way, the only truth, the only life, for our souls. Since he is the only revealer of God, to

whom else shall we go for truth but to him? Since he is the only source of being, to whom else shall we go for salvation? To accept him is to accept God, and to reject him is to turn our backs on God. I have heard that during our Civil War, a swaggering, drunken, blaspheming officer insulted and almost drove from the dock at Alexandria a plain, unoffending man in citizen's dress; but I have also heard that that same officer turned pale, fell on his knees, and begged for mercy, when the plain man demanded his sword, put him under arrest, and made himself known as General Grant. So we may abuse and reject the Lord Jesus Christ, and fancy that we can ignore his claims and disobey his commands with impunity; but it will seem to us a more serious thing when we find at the last that he whom we have abused and rejected is none other than the living God before whose judgment-bar we are to stand.

GOD'S SELF-LIMITATIONS

THE Christian doctrines of incarnation and atonement are in our day most relentlessly opposed by a school of thinkers who pride themselves on their lofty abstract conception of the Deity. That the second person of the Trinity should "empty himself," should give up "the form of God," should resign the independent exercise of his divine attributes, should join himself to our guilt-burdened humanity, should humble himself even to death in order that he might redeem us—all this is simply unintelligible to those who know only "The Absolute" and "The Infinite." It is plain that "the offence of the cross" has not ceased. To these modern Greeks, quite as much as to their ancient congeners, the gospel is "foolishness."

It will not be possible for us to show these errorists that the cross is "the wisdom of God," unless we can first convince them that they are at fault in their fundamental conception of the divine Being. They think it a contradiction in terms that Christ should be God, and yet that he should put off the form of God; but they think this simply because they assume it to be impossible that God should be limited at all. Here is a speculative difficulty which lies not only at the basis of much skepticism, it also vexes the minds of many devout believers. Though they believe that God actually became man, they cannot at all understand how it could

be so. In both cases the mistake is in supposing that an absolute Being can exist in no relations and that an infinite Being can suffer no co-existence of the finite. We maintain, on the other hand, that an absolute Being is simply one who exists in no *necessary* relations and that an infinite Being is one who furnishes in himself the *cause* and *ground* of the finite. In short, the substance of our contention is this: It is not an abstract Absolute or Infinite with which we have to do, but rather with the living God, of whom perfection, power, and love are inalienable attributes.

We begin, then, by asserting that the perfection of God's own nature involves limitation even before he becomes man at all. Not abstract absoluteness or infinity, but perfection rather is our ruling conception of God. Mere boundlessness is not perfection; to be perfect, a thing must be definite, not indefinite. For example: God would not be perfect if he were not a *personal* Being. But personality, with its self-consciousness and self-determination, implies definiteness; God cannot be at the same time both conscious and unconscious, both necessitated and free. His very perfection limits him to consciousness and freedom. The opposite view would make God mere *Being*, without content or movement, a Hindu Brahma, "as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." That view cannot explain how the abstract Being should ever become reality; how the Notion should become actual; how the Infinite should become finite; in short, how anything definite should ever come to be. This is the insoluble problem of Hegelianism. If there is a personal God, if there is an actual universe, this doctrine cannot be true.

Not only personality, but Trinity also, is an element of the divine perfection. But the distinctions of the Trinity involve limitation. God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit ; not two persons, or four, but three. The intercommunion and life of the Godhead, God's security from loneliness and dependence, God's sovereignty and freedom, all are bound up with his triune existence. God would not be more perfect, but less perfect, if he were not triune. And yet this triunity is a sort of limitation.

Righteousness is necessary to perfection. But righteousness involves limitation. God cannot be both truth and untruth ; but exclusion of untruth is limitation. God cannot be both purity and impurity ; but exclusion of impurity is limitation. What sort of a God is the God of the pantheist, of whom all things are equally manifestations, the lower as well as the higher, vice as well as virtue, cruelty as well as kindness, falsehood as well as truth ? Would God be more perfect if he were evil as well as good ? He who thus blackens the character of God has really *no* God. Pantheism is practical atheism. And yet to save ourselves from this, we must admit that the very perfection of God's nature limits him to the good—that is, God's perfection is inseparable from limitation.

Let us take one step farther now, and consider that any revelation of this perfect Being, or any act looking toward such revelation, must involve a *self*-limitation on the part of God. As God's perfection involves limitation, so God's revelation involves self-limitation. The fact that this limitation is voluntary, self-chosen, not the result of compulsion from without, but, on the con-

trary, proceeding from free-will within, renders it perfectly consistent with God's independence and blessedness. Personality, trinity, righteousness, these are consistent with perfection, because they are also limitations from within. But these are constitutional limitations. In these respects, God cannot be other than he is. Revelation is a limitation from within of a different kind; it is a limitation proceeding from deliberate choice, and therefore a manifestation of the greatest power, even God's power over himself.

James Martineau has well said that "when the Infinite reveals itself it must limit itself in space and time, must adopt an order of successive steps; in other words, there must be a self-abnegation of Infinity, and this is the only way in which Infinity can reveal itself." In the very *decree* to create, we would add—God's decree, framed in eternity past—there is self-limitation, the choice of one plan out of many, the narrowing down of abstract omniscience and omnipotence to a single definite scheme. In the *act* of creation there is self-limitation; God admits a universe side by side with himself, free creatures side by side with his freedom. To every thoughtful child the question has probably at some time occurred: "Would not God be greater if he included me and the world in himself, instead of being outside of us?" And the answer is: "God has parted with his privilege of sole and only existence in order that he may give room for other things and other beings; but this limitation is no derogation to his greatness, because it is *self-limitation*. And so the *preservation* of the things he has created involves a continual self-limitation on the part of God. He upholds them by

word of his power, and but for his forbearing to destroy—aye, but for his free consent and co-operation—they would sink again into nothingness.

As we pass on, let us not fail to notice that this self-limitation on the part of God, this distinction of himself from other beings, is the very condition of our knowing him. Knowing is distinguishing; I cannot know anything except as I distinguish it from something else. If God were in no way limited, if he were "the All," then no knowledge of him would be possible. Herbert Spencer conceives that God will be more perfect if he is without marks or limitations; and since it is plain that what is without marks or limitations cannot be known, he calls God the Inscrutable Reality. But in trying to divest God of limitation in one way, he imposes limitation upon him in another. The impossibility of making one's self known is the greatest of limitations. A God so shut up within himself would be no God at all.

In the early life of Dr. John Duncan, of Edinburgh, that eminent scholar whose unique personality was such a force in the recent theological history of Scotland, there were two turning-points upon which depended all that followed. The first was the evening when, after long wandering in the frightful darkness of unbelief, he at last became convinced that there was a God, and, as he himself said, he "danced for joy upon the brig o' Dee." The second was the time when, after equally anxious pondering, the wonderful truth flashed upon his mind that "God wants us to know him." It was a wonderful truth indeed. God wants us to know him, wants this so much that he has subjected himself to

limitation. He has narrowed himself down in order to reveal himself to free creatures. Let us remember that the creation of free beings involves the possibility that freedom will be abused ; the development of the highest virtue is inseparable from probation, temptation, a possible fall from virtue into the depths of misery and sin. For a holy being to create a universe in prospect of sin, and to administer a universe in spite of constant opposition to his will, is an act and process of self-limitation, the significance of which it is difficult for us to measure.

Many years ago, in the lecture room of President Woolsey, of Yale College, a young man who did not know his lesson ventured to make a mock recitation and to give an impertinent answer. The president was a man of fiery temper, though it had been curbed and subdued by the discipline of years. On this occasion his face turned white ; he bowed his head upon the desk before him. There was a half-minute's silence like the silence of death ; he raised his head, called upon another man, and the recitation went on. He knew that if he spoke to the offender he would speak too much, so he said nothing. The students of that class knew well what a lava-flood was pent up there. Self-repression did not seem to them a sign of weakness—it was the greatest evidence of power. Shall we call it a sign of weakness in God that he bears with the sins of men, the manifold and multitudinous transgressions with which they insult his holiness and hurl defiance at his law ? When God humbles himself to hold and to forbear, shall we not see in this voluntary self-limitation one of the proofs of his greatness ?

If God would reveal himself, he must not only create and govern, but he must also educate. You cannot put the knowledge of God into men's minds at a stroke. Teaching is a long process. Finite beings at the very best need to begin with the simplest elements, the alphabet and the multiplication table; only later on can they reach upward to the higher learning. And when finite beings are also sinful beings there is a dullness that requires line upon line, precept upon precept. The individual and the race will not learn at all unless they are taught by pictures and by object lessons. As the German Herder once said: "The limitations of the pupil are the limitations also of the teacher." God is a teacher, and the teacher must condescend to dull minds, and must have endless patience with them. This was one of the griefs of Christ, the holding back what he would fain communicate because of the low intellectual and moral state of his disciples. What a tone of sorrow there is in his words: "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

Is this self-limitation on the part of God a sign of imperfection in him, or is it a sign of the highest nobility and greatness? Let the answer be given in a parable. A burly ruffian on the street was seen dragging along his little daughter and cursing her at every step, because her fainting and trembling feet could not keep up with his giant stride. The brute thought it beneath his dignity to moderate his pace to accommodate a child. Shall this be called greatness, and shall that father be accused of weakness and of inability to go at a faster rate who graduates his own steps to the steps of his child? Let us find our answer in the

multitude of mothers who delight in adapting themselves to the infantile capacities of their children and who, in bearing with their thoughtlessness and wrong-headedness, evince a greatness of soul which furnishes us with one of our best images of the divine. If earthly parents are considerate, the heavenly Father, we may be sure, will be much more so. In order to give us the knowledge of himself, he will come down to our weak human speech, will use poor human words, will clothe his great thoughts in earthly symbols—and this is inspiration. He will conduct the education of the race by successive stages, giving truth in germ at the first, enlarging his revelation as men are prepared to receive it—and this is history. Is not this subjection of himself to the conditions of revelation, this adapting of his infinity to the finite and the sinful, a glory and an honor to his name?

Perfection involves limitation ; revelation involves self-limitation. So far we have gone. Consider finally that redemption involves an infinite self-limitation. For we now come upon a fact far more important than any which we have hitherto contemplated, the fact of God's love. Love is essentially self-sacrificing, and the self-sacrifice of love is the highest and noblest form of self-limitation. And if we are asked, how great this self-limitation will be in God? we can only answer : As great as God's love and as great as the need of its exercise. If the love is infinite and the need is infinite, then the sacrificial self-limitation will be infinite also. An infinite self-limitation is not only possible, but necessary, when "deep calleth unto deep," the boundless deep of man's sin and guilt to the boundless deep of God's love and mercy.

There is a principle in God which answers to conscience in man,—a principle that demands reparation for sin,—and God can in no wise clear the guilty so long as that principle has not its full rights accorded to it. Moral evil must be either punished or atoned for. God does not desire to punish, hence he provides atonement. Aye, he provides that atonement even when he determines to create. Sin has cost God more than it has cost man; God permitted it only in view of the cross. Christ is “the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world.” In the beginning God gave his Son to die; the provision of redemption antedates the historical existence of sin itself; Calvary is only the outward manifestation of a sacrifice which was from eternity. In sacrifice the world was born; in sacrifice it continues to be. Only in Christ does the universe “consist” or hold together. His pierced hand keeps it from disintegration, from chaos, from annihilation. Justice would sweep away a world of sinners if it were not for the self-limitation of love.

So we are to look on the laws of nature by which summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, succeed one another in even round as voluntary limitations imposed on himself by God. And supernatural working, as well as natural, miracles, regeneration, resurrection, all God’s plan made known in prophecy and executed in providence, all the promises by which God binds himself and attaches himself to the faith and the prayers of men, are various methods of self-limitation in which love reveals itself, challenges attention, draws us to itself. So God prepares us for the one great act and exhibition of his love which surpasses,

and yet in a true sense includes, all the rest. How far, we ask once more, will this self-limitation go? And the answer is the startling words: "He emptied himself." Human love will go far in self-abnegation and self-surrender. But divine love will make the infinite descent from the very heights of glory to the very depths of shame.

It is not my present purpose fully to treat the great subject of Christ's humiliation. I wish only to indicate in the briefest way how the principles already suggested may be applied to its defense and elucidation. The humiliation of Christ was two-fold: it pertained on the one hand to his person and on the other hand to his work. In Christ's person there was a self-limitation that affected God's natural attributes. In Christ's work there was a self-limitation that affected God's moral attributes. When Christ became man he gave up the independent exercise of his divine attributes. During his earthly life the God in him was veiled and subject. He voluntarily put his deity under control. God by himself could never be born or suffer or die—but God united to humanity could do all these. When he was made in the likeness of men he took the form of a servant. In the human nature which he took to himself, he who was Lord of the Spirit, he who gave the Spirit, he who worked through the Spirit, condescended to be the servant of the Holy Spirit, and to know and act, not as God, but as man, and only as the Holy Spirit should permit and the exigencies of his Messianic mission required. The Godhead in Christ commonly manifested itself in proportion to the capacity of Christ's humanity—only a little when the humanity

was infantile and weak, more and more fully as the humanity became older and more developed. Jesus when a babe was not omniscient; indeed, even in his later years there were some things hid from him, for he said: "Of that day"—the day of the end—"knoweth no man, neither the angels of God, neither the Son, but the Father." He learned obedience and suffered being tempted, as he could not have done had all things been open to his gaze. His humanity dropped a curtain before the eyes of the God-man. Just as the reservoir may be full of water, but we get in our houses only a quantity measured by the size of our service pipe, so God was manifest in the flesh only so far as the flesh furnished a channel through which deity could communicate itself.

In Robert Browning's "Ring and the Book," Pompilia says truly: "Now I see how God is likest God, in being born." This self-limitation of deity to the narrow bounds of humanity, that our humanity might be addressed on its own level and in its own language, this is the thing that is "likest God." And yet it is a great mystery—the Scriptures seem to intimate that God manifest in the flesh is the greatest mystery of all. How can there be divine attributes that are not exercised, resources that are not used? Fortunately we are not without analogies which help us to comprehend the possibility of it. There is more of resource in *us* than we use; we know more than we can tell; there is more in the memory of every man than he can at this moment recall; every one of us has more power than he now knows of—only the exigency calls it forth. The spiritual life of the Christian is a greater and more

blessed thing than at present he has any idea of—"It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

If we could imagine the soul of a Humboldt coming back to this world and being joined again to an infant's body, we should not expect that soul with all its knowledge perfectly to reveal itself at the first; only as the infant's body developed and matured could the genius of Humboldt be made manifest. So, although there was an ocean-like fullness of resource in Christ, upon which he was permitted at times to draw, yet those vast resources were commonly hidden, even from himself. The independent exercise of his divine attributes he surrendered when he gave up the form of God to take the form of a servant and to be made in the likeness of men.

Christ's humiliation then was a self-limitation as respects his person. God gave up the independent exercise of his natural attributes in becoming man. But there was a greater humiliation than this involved in the work which he did and came to do, a humiliation that pertained to God's moral attributes. Christ joined himself not merely to humanity, but to guilty humanity. When he became one of the race he took by inheritance all the burden of ill-desert which rested upon the race. All our exposures and liabilities became his so soon as he became organically connected with us. He put himself under law and under penalty when he took our nature. Father Damien when stricken with leprosy wrote: "Now I must stay with my own people." So, when Christ joined himself to us, he put himself under bonds to suffer and to die. His circumcision and his baptism indicated this. All through his life on earth

there hung over him the shadow of approaching death. Human nature was under condemnation and he had human nature. In this moral self-limitation was the greatest sacrifice of all. Gethsemane was the clear realization of what was due to sin; Calvary was the actual paying of the debt which not he personally, but the human nature of which he had become a part, owed to the law and the holiness of God. Hastening forward to the cross with the majestic self-abandonment of love, yet shrinking from the cross as only infinite purity could shrink from the doom of sin, we have in the passion and atonement of the Son of God the most marvelous illustration of God's self-limitation.

For Jesus endured the whole penalty of human sin, both physical and spiritual death. Physical death is the separation of the soul from the body, and Jesus died for our sins in this sense. Spiritual death is the separation of the soul from God, and Jesus suffered the agonies of spiritual death also when he cried, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Here was the last conceivable or possible sacrifice, the endurance of that frown and desertion of God, which the unpardoned sinner must endure forever, simply because a finite being can never exhaust an infinite penalty, but which Christ in a few brief hours could exhaust and did exhaust, because in his divine nature he was himself infinite. So near to absolute extinction did Jesus go in order that he might redeem us. His holiness came into closest contact with unholiness; yes, took upon itself all the consequences of man's unholiness—did everything but become actually unholy—that we might be saved. Here is the climax of God's self-limitation.

Love makes every sacrifice but the sacrifice of holiness; God gives up everything but his essential Godhood. The form of God, *that* he resigns. Our nature, our guilt, our penalty, our death, these he takes. And so "he emptied himself."

The heart of God reveals itself in sacrifice. Would God be more perfect without this self-limitation of love? No, this is his very perfection, that he can stoop so low to save us. In Christ's sympathy and sorrow God stands manifested, for "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." This is Christianity—the coming down of God to man—in distinction from heathenism, which is man's vain effort to lift himself to God. So the gospel rectifies our perverted ideals of character and of conduct. We can win no true success in life except by following Christ's example of self-limitation. The last and greatest wonder of that gospel is that the great Model does not leave us to copy him at a distance, but actually enters our souls and remodels us. And faith is only the closing of the soul with Christ, by which this living Redeemer, with his self-sacrificing and yet his victorious Spirit, becomes ours. So the God who nineteen hundred years ago subjected himself to the limitations and liabilities of our human nature still continues his work of self-limitation by re-incarnating himself in every believer and by enabling him to sacrifice himself for others as his Lord sacrificed himself for him. I have been trying to render Christ's person and work acceptable to an enlightened reason. But of all that I have said this is the sum: Christ's humiliation is possible, simply because infinite love is capable of infinite self-limitation and because the im-



measurable depths and everlasting reaches of man's misery and condemnation constitute an infinite need of such love. "God commendeth his love toward us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." "This is the true God and eternal life."

CHRIST AND THE TRUTH¹

I COUNT it a high honor that I am permitted to be present on this occasion. I pay my tribute of respect to the noble history of this institution, to the piety of its founders, to the liberality of its benefactors, to the great work for Church and State which it has already accomplished. Yet my eyes turn by preference to the future to-day. I see in the new administration of the university a promise of even better things to come. The strength and culture of its new president are guarantees that Columbian, while true to the traditions of the past, will be in the van of progress, and will broaden its work with the ever-broadening knowledge of our time. Personally, and on behalf of the institution which I represent, I give to President Whitman not only my welcome and my congratulations, but my confident prediction of his great success.

I represent a theological seminary, and I interpret my invitation to address you as an intimation and acknowledgment that Columbian University is a Christian institution; an institution established and maintained for the purpose of discovering and propagating Christian truth. Others will doubtless speak of other aspects of university training. You will not think it violation of the proprieties of this occasion, but yo

¹An address delivered at the inauguration of B. L. Whitman, D. D. as president of Columbian University, Washington, D. C., Nov. 15, 18

will rather regard it as a bringing out of its essential meaning, if I speak of its religious aspect. I would set before you the relation between the truth and Christ. The proposition I would maintain is this: That Christ is the Truth, and the whole truth of God, and that apart from him no complete or perfect truth exists or is attainable.

Truth is not an abstraction, but a person. God is truth, and truth is God. Why do two and two make four? Why are all the radii of a circle equal to each other? Because these statements represent eternal facts in the nature of God. Why is moral law unchangeable? Why is vice condemnable? Because God is holy, and these propositions are reflections and revelations of his essential being. What we call separate truths are only partial manifestations of the God whose nature is truth. A separate truth can no more be comprehended in its isolation, apart from God, than one of the electric lights in the street to-night can be comprehended in its isolation, apart from the circuit of lights to which it belongs, and the electric force that pulsates through the connecting wires, and above all, the central dynamo from which that force proceeds. A given truth in mathematics or in morals is incompletely seen, and just so far is falsely seen, until it is seen as related to God, from whom it sprang. The scattered lights of truth are comprehensible only when they are regarded as parts of one whole, and as proceeding from one original and eternal source of truth and righteousness.

And here we see the relation of truth to Christ. As God the Father is the source of truth, so Christ the

Son is the revealer of it. The great dynamo would be unseen and unfelt if it did not send its electric current through the wires. So no man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. That electric current exactly measures the central power and perfectly manifests it: so Christ is equal with God and perfectly manifests God. Christ is the truth in manifestation, even as God is the truth manifested. Separate statements of truth are like the separate lights at the corners of the streets; they are but partial manifestations of Christ, the all-encircling current of truth. God himself is the dynamo, the truth that otherwise would be hid, but which now reveals itself through the omnipresent activity of Christ. Christ, then, is the truth, and the only truth, because he is the only revealer of God. In him the whole physical and mental and spiritual universe "consists," or holds together, even as he is the creative power through which it was fashioned, and the ultimate end for which it was made.

So we cannot limit the teachings of Christ to Christendom. He is "the Light that lighteth every man," Jew or Gentile, heathen or Christian. Even before Christ came in the flesh, every ray of conscience or aspiration that ever illuminated mankind proceeded from him, though "the Light shined in the midst of darkness and the darkness comprehended it not." Special revelation brings us in contact with the personal source of truth, and so opens our eyes to see the living essence of truth. In Christ's holy life, and in his sacrificial death, we see more clearly the meaning of the revelation in nature which went before. So too, theol-

will rather regard it as a bringing out of its essential meaning, if I speak of its religious aspect. I would set before you the relation between the truth and Christ. The proposition I would maintain is this: That Christ is the Truth, and the whole truth of God, and that apart from him no complete or perfect truth exists or is attainable.

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The natural and the spiritual are only parts of the one kingdom over which Christ reigns. We must set forth not only Christ's relations to the church, but his relations to the universe; must show that he "upholds all things by the word of his power," and "fills all in all"—the universe in all its parts, with all that it contains of reality and truth and life. It is the mission of Christianity then to educate the world—to influence and control all the springs and channels of human thought. And the church, the exponent of Christianity, must make all truth her subject of instruction, simply in order that she may set forth the greatness and glory of Christ, the Lord of the universe, and the living Head of the church herself.

Here is the secret which so many have sought but have not found—how to combine Christianity and culture, education and spirituality. Christianity must take possession of all the culture of the world, or she must utterly give up claim to be divine. She must appropriate and disseminate all knowledge, or she must confess that she is the child of ignorance and fanaticism. She must conquer all good learning, or she must herself be conquered. How shall we have the highest knowledge and the highest spirituality together? Ah! this problem, like all other problems, is solved in Christ. He, the personal truth, binds the two things together. When the church fully recognizes that in order to bear witness to Christ it must bear witness to all truth, and that in order to bear witness to all truth it must bear witness to Christ, all danger will cease, either of an ignorant Christianity or of an unspiritual education. The church can be delivered from ignorance only by

remembering that Christ is the truth, and the church can be delivered from unspirituality only by remembering that the truth is Christ.

It is because of this conviction of the identity of the cause of Christ and the cause of truth, that the Christian Church from the beginning has been the great advocate and sustainer of education. The university has been the outgrowth of the church, and though the university in these modern days so often forgets her true mother and disowns her parentage, she will never be true to her mission, except as she recognizes her relation to the same Christ whom the church owns as her Lord and Master. And the church, on the other hand, sees it to be her clear duty not to let go her hold of the university, because without her supervision the tendency of university research and teaching is to unscientific narrowness and irrational antipathy to religion. The church maintains that "the undevout astronomer is mad," and that science without Christ is incomplete, because it rests upon a partial induction of facts. She would conduct investigation and impart instruction in a Christian spirit, with the integral reason at work—not simply the powers of sense-perception and logical reasoning, but also the sympathies and affections that belong to a Christian heart. For reason is nothing less than the soul's whole power of knowing; the attainment of knowledge is dependent upon right states of sensibility; we can know beauty only as we have a love for beauty, and the morally right only as we have a love for the morally right; and only a heart of love toward God can ever give eyes to the mind. Thus the church is bound to found and to sustain the university, because

only under the fostering care and oversight of the church can human reason do its complete and normal work, and the world be taught the whole truth of God.

From this great fact, that Christ is the truth and that all knowledge is his province, I draw a second and final inference. It is this: We are bound to recognize in the progress of truth everywhere the work and triumph of Christ our Lord. You perceive at once that this is an optimistic and encouraging conclusion. We are too ready to be pessimists, and to fancy that the enemy of truth and righteousness is having his way unhindered in the world. The progress of science and philosophy has by many Christian thinkers been regarded as diverting attention from the affairs of the soul, even if it did not directly antagonize the gospel. Sociology and reform in politics have been sometimes frowned upon by Christian preachers because they were considered rivals of Christianity in the thoughts of men. If what I have said is true, then the error and harmfulness of such estimates are apparent. The dark and threatening form that has loomed up in the distance, and has filled our hearts with fear as we have sailed over the stormy sea, may be only the form of Christ coming to us over the waves to rescue us. Christ and his truth are larger and more comprehensive than we have imagined, and the movements of human thought which agitate the world may be ways in which he goes forth, conquering and to conquer.

I do not deny that there is an evil spirit, a spirit of falsehood and deception, abroad in the world also, and I know that against that evil spirit it is our duty strenuously to contend. I do not deny that there is danger

lest this spirit take possession of the educational institutions of our time, and make the gifts of past benefactors the means of propagating error. But let us not forget that these very institutions are also instruments of Christian discovery, fountains of knowledge, means of opening the unexplored mines of nature and of Scripture. Let us expect that Christ will make use of them to bring forth things new as well as old for the instruction of the world. Through all our modern literature and life Christ is working, gradually making all things new. The manifold societies and organizations that are formed within the church are only means of drawing out unused resources and of inaugurating new aggressions upon the kingdom of evil. And the great efforts outside the church to improve government, to right social wrongs, to diffuse the spirit of kindness between employers and employed, are many of them efforts in which Christ himself is the moving power, even though those moved by him are unconscious of his influence. All power in heaven and earth is even now given to Christ, and in view of these great civil and social movements, we are bound to lift up our hearts, because the day of our redemption draweth nigh.

This larger view of Christ, as comprehending all truth, is greatly needed in order to prevent us from becoming illiberal in our estimates of work done by Christians of other names, and even by those who have no connection with any Christian organization. All Christian denominations, just so far as they preach Christ, are helping the cause of truth, and we rejoice in their work. Our public schools are a great instru-

ment of Christ for popular enlightenment, a great means of training for self-government, while at the same time their instruction needs to be supplemented by our Sunday-schools and by special teaching of religion. I deny that the public school is godless simply because it does not teach Christian doctrines. All knowledge belongs to Christ, and a part of Christ's work is unconsciously and unintentionally done, even in the inculcation of the rudiments of arithmetic and grammar, by teachers who have no specifically Christian purpose.

The church of Christ should see to it that all truth is taught, but it does not follow that the church should make all education ecclesiastical. The church can do indirectly much that she cannot do directly. I regard all modern education as substantially the product of Christianity. Our universities and colleges are the fruit of Christian liberality, and our common schools are the result of Christian effort to lift up the masses of the people. It is the church of Christ that really supports all these institutions, either by endowing them or by teaching the need of them to make true men and true citizens. What the church is already doing indirectly she does not need to take in hand directly. We need no system of parochial schools to make our children Christians. We shall only make them narrow and un-American thereby. Let us trust that the Spirit of Christ is abroad; that Christ is working in all great efforts to advance human intelligence, even though they be efforts to teach the alphabet or to teach the higher mathematics.

Let us not be too critical, moreover, in our judgment

upon the universities that do the higher sorts of work. One of the conditions of progress is freedom. Discussion elicits truth. Imperfect and even erroneous statement is often the germ from which truth is sifted and evolved. And though now and then we may hear that new and strange doctrine has been taught, let us not on that account alone condemn the institution; this is better than that Christian liberty should be unduly curtailed. Such things right themselves in time. And this is only to say that Christ reigns, that colleges and universities are his agencies for the discovery and propagation of the truth, that he who is the Truth will see to it that the wrath of man shall praise him and that the remainder of wrath shall be put under due restraint. The kings of science shall be made to serve him, and all the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.

It is a mere question of expediency and of relative importance how much and what parts of education we shall directly conduct. It is my judgment that the Christian church does not need directly to conduct the lower education, but that it does need to conduct the higher, at least, so far as not to give even the control of all our universities into the hands of the government, or of those who have no sympathy with religion. Paradoxical as it may seem, the higher education does not rest upon the lower, but rather the lower rests upon the higher. The relation between the two is not that between the apex and the base of the pyramid, but rather that between the reservoir and the distributing pipes. If we make the fountain of the higher education pure, the streams of the lower education which flow from it

will be pure also. It was with this view that the founders of Columbian University planned in the center of national life a great institution which should be as broad as it was Christian and as Christian as it was broad. I believe that this university has before it a glorious history, because it represents the noblest ideal of education, because it recognizes that truth is inseparable from Christ, and because it has chosen for its head and leader so able and stalwart a believer in these principles as President Whitman.

THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE

“I AM a man under authority,” said the Roman centurion. Yet the centurion himself had authority. He had soldiers under him. When he said “Go,” they went; when he said “Come,” they came. His authority was a subordinate authority. There were limits to it. It was sometimes imperfectly understood and imperfectly exercised. Yet it had behind it the whole power of the Roman Empire. Nay, it had behind it the power of God. Rome was an earthly representative of the divine sovereignty—the powers that be are ordained of God. Since the centurion’s soldiers obeyed him, he could justly argue that all the powers of nature and all the wills of men must render obedience to the Christ of God.

In this world we need authority, for the reason that there are so many things we do not know, but need to know, while we cannot by ourselves get the knowledge of them. Etymology helps us here. The word “authority” is derived from *augco, augēre*, to add. The “author” is one who adds to the facts his own testimony about them. “Authority” is the personal element of witness added to the truth communicated. Let the truth come by itself, do you say? Let it stand in its own light and win its own way? But suppose, on account of immaturity or perversity, my judgment is untrustworthy. Then I must either have the truth

attested to me by others, or I must remain in ignorance.

We see this in the child. He is very ignorant. He cannot find out everything for himself. Some one must teach him. There are things which he needs to know, but which he has a natural reluctance to learn. The rights of others, for example, he is slow to appreciate. He needs an authority over him that will add to the facts the influence of personal testimony, and sometimes of physical force besides. And so, parental authority is ordained of God, to secure the proper education of the child. We see the same thing in the foreign immigrant to our shores. He is ignorant of America and fancies it a land of license. He must learn that our liberty is a liberty regulated by law. Government must instruct and restrain him. Civil authority is ordained of God to educate the members of the State.

God is the original source of all just authority, and no authority is just which cannot be referred to God's ordination. The human reason is bound to submit to God's authority, for human reason is finite. The human conscience is bound to submit to God's authority, for the human conscience is warped and perverted by sin. It is not only rational for us in our present intellectual and moral state to recognize an authority above that of individual reason and conscience, but this is the only reasonable and conscientious thing for us to do. Reason itself bids me follow a guide where I do not know the way myself. It is not enough to say, I must follow conscience. I am bound also to have a right conscience to follow, and I must permit my conscience

to be set right by Him who made the conscience. The most unreasonable and most unconscientious of all people are those who depend solely upon their own reason and conscience, without recognizing the limitations of reason and conscience and their need of divine instruction and correction.

It is a very absurd thing, then, for a man to say that he will follow reason rather than authority. What he wants to follow, or ought to want to follow, is truth. And authority is as much God's appointed way to truth as reason is. For nine-tenths of the facts of geology we are dependent upon the testimony of observers whom we never saw. These *data* do not fetter our reason, but only give the proper basis for reason to work upon. To say that we will take nothing on authority, but that we will build up our system of belief solely upon the results of our own observation and judgment, is to condemn ourselves to the narrowest sort of induction and utterly to preclude a coming to the knowledge of the truth.

So one whole half of human life consists in following authority, taking facts from others, acting upon testimony. Physical science is largely based upon the witness of our fellow-men, and its conclusions have in them a great element of faith. Religion demands of us only an application to spiritual things of the same principle of dependence, submission, trust, which we are obliged to exercise in all the affairs of this world. But here comes in the moral test. In my ignorance I must follow some authority; whose authority shall it be? I have the solemn power of choice: I choose my authority, and in that choice I reveal my character. If

I feel my sin, my weakness, my need, I see also the glory of God's saving revelation and I choose to follow it. If I am proud, self-righteous, self-willed, I choose to follow my own perverse judgment ; but I have not rid myself of authority, I have simply substituted the authority of self for the authority of God.

How long must authority last ? How long will it be before I shall cease to need *data* for my intellect ? You reply : Until I cease to be ignorant and become omniscient. How plain it is that the apostle said well, "Now abideth faith." Since my largest intellectual progress will never compass all things, there will always be an infinite outlying region with regard to which I shall have to take testimony—and that testimony of God will be authority. Much more dependent upon his authority am I here in this nebulous and unformed state of my moral nature, where so many things are seen in a glass darkly and so many other things are never seen at all. And, therefore, my probation consists more than anything else in my decision of the question whether I will add to the sources of my knowledge and the springs of my moral action the information which God communicates, or whether I will go on my lonely way without light and without God. Alas ! the light reveals so much of evil in me that I am likely to take this latter course, unless the Spirit of God convert my heart.

God is the original source of all authority. But he is not the only source. He has delegated his authority. He has given authority to parents. The commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother," was probably a part of the first table of the law, and belongs

among our duties to God. He has given authority to magistrates. The words of the psalm, "I said, Ye are gods," were uttered with reference to earthly rulers, because they stood in the place of God, executed judgment for him, and were clothed with his authority. Both family government and civil government derive all their dignity from the fact that they are constituted by God and that they are his appointed representatives.

No earthly father and no earthly judge appreciates his responsibility until he recognizes that God has delegated to him a portion of his own divine sovereignty, and that the family on the one hand and the community on the other will judge of God by his equitable or inequitable administration. The father is often unwise, yet within the bounds of the family, God clothes him with authority over his children; to the child in his earliest years the father almost takes the place of God. The civil ruler enacts imperfect laws and passes imperfect judgments; that does not prevent his authority from being supreme within its sphere. "He that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God, and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment."

I think it is also plain that any delegated authority that forgets its derivation from God and sets itself up for original, to the ignoring and exclusion of its divine source, does very much to nullify its own work and to harm mankind. The aim of the parent and of the judge should be so to exercise authority that the mind of the family and the mind of the community shall be led up to the God by whom that authority has been conferred. In this way external and formal obedience will come to

be replaced by intelligent and willing obedience,—the law will be written on the heart, duty will be performed as unto God and not unto men.

The father who rules only by physical force, who never reasons with his child, who never points the child to God, will find sooner or later that the child regards his rule as tyranny, and runs riot so soon as he has escaped from the father's eye and control. The aim of paternal government is so to educate the child that he becomes a law to himself, no longer needing paternal control, but able to manage a family of his own. And so civil government takes the raw recruit, from Poland or from Italy, brings to bear upon him the influence of schools and of statutes, until he becomes a law-abiding citizen, appreciating the blessings of liberty and willing to bear his portion of the burdens of the State. The citizen is educated just in proportion as he recognizes that government is not an arbitrary thing but an embodiment of a higher justice ; or, to say the same thing in other words, just in proportion as external law is inwrought into his intellectual and moral nature.

Let us now take a further step and consider how conscience and the church, God's witnesses in the individual soul and in the world at large, are invested in a similar way with an authority that is delegated, subordinate, limited, yet sufficient and binding in the sphere and for the purposes for which it was given. Conscience has been called "the voice of God in the soul." But this definition is inaccurate and inadequate. Doctor Faunce has well said, in reply to this method of representation : "Conscience is not God ; it is only a part of one's self." To build up a religion about one's

own conscience, as if it were God, is only a refined selfishness, a worship of one part of one's self by another part of one's self.

Let us amend the definition then, and while we still preserve the pictorial element in it add the truth which the definition lacks. Conscience, let us say, is the echo of God's voice. Its original source is in God ; but it is a reflection of that original. The reflecting surface modifies the original voice. If the surface that reflects is perfectly even and true, the echo fairly represents the original, though its intensity is somewhat diminished. If that reflecting surface is jagged and broken, the echo will give but a scattering and feeble impression of the original sound. My moral reason is the reflecting surface, and that moral reason is greatly perverted from its early integrity. It furnishes the standard by which I judge ; and in every judgment of conscience accordingly there is an element of imperfection.

Shall I say, because conscience has its limitations, that it has no authority? Ah, no! Delegated, subordinate, limited, as it is, it is yet the finite echo of an infinite righteousness, and in the sphere and for the purposes for which it was given it is sufficient to guide our moral action. As the watch I carry may regulate my going out and coming in, even though it needs itself to be regulated by comparison with the great town clock which represents more directly the astronomic standards, so conscience may be indispensable authority even though its aberrations need to be corrected by comparison with the more sure standard of divine revelation.

The church represents the collective consciousness

of redeemed humanity. It is the Christian consciousness embodied. Can it have authority? Is "the analogy of faith" of any value in determining what is truth? Yes, so long as it is kept to its proper place as a delegated, subordinate, and limited authority. I am not the only man to whom the Holy Spirit ever made known the truth. He has illuminated thousands of other men before he began to teach me. I owe respect, therefore, to the conclusions of the past. There is a presumption in favor of their correctness. Until I have fairly investigated for myself, and have found that these conclusions are based upon false premises and false interpretations, the dogmas of the church have a certain authority for me.

But its authority is not ultimate. I am not to stop with the church. I am not to bow to the church as the final and only source of light. This is what Roman Catholicism would have me do. It would keep me in perpetual tutelage, instead of encouraging me to exercise my own reason and judgment in interpreting God's revelation. It would make my relation to Christ depend upon my relation to the church, instead of making my relation to the church depend upon, follow, and express my relation to Christ. It forgets that Christ, and not the church, is "the door," and that the interposition of any other door is the separation of the sinner from his Saviour.

So far, we have considered the general matter of authority, and have seen that all authority is derived from God, and is intended to lead to God. All other authority is dependent, subordinate, provisional, limited; valid so long as it confines itself to the sphere and the

purposes for which it was ordained, but invalid when it goes beyond its proper bounds, usurps functions which do not belong to it, or assumes to take the place of God himself. What has been said, however, has been intended only as preliminary to the real subject of discussion, which is the authority of Scripture. And, in order that I may set forth more clearly what I conceive to be the truth, let me show what relation the Scripture holds to Christ.

The word "Christ" sums up all that we mean by God and by revelation. For Christ is nothing less than Deity revealed, God brought down to our human comprehension and engaged in the work of our salvation. Christ is the Word of God, the divine reason in expression. All outgoing, communication, manifestation of the Godhead, is the work of Christ. God never thought anything, said anything, did anything, except through Christ. Christ is the creator of all and the sustainer of all. He upholds all things by the word of his power. In him all things consist or hold together. Nature, with all its powers and laws, exists and moves, only because Christ's energy throbs through it all. The sunset clouds are painted by his hand and the tides of life that ebb and flow on the far shores of the universe are only manifestations of him in whom is "the power of an endless life."

As this *Logos*, or Word of God, is the originating and animating principle of nature, so man lives and moves and has his being in him. Human nature, physical as well as mental, is created in Christ before it is recreated in him. It is intellectually united to him before it is spiritually united to him. It is Christ who

conducts the march of human history. He is "the Light that lighteth every man." All the lights of conscience, as well as of science, all the truths hid amid the chaff of paganism, as well as all the discoveries made to the chosen people, were communications of Christ, the reason, the wisdom, and the power of God. There is no truth beyond his province, for he is himself "the Truth."

Christ and revelation, then, are one and the same thing from different points of view. The first term, "Christ," brings before us the personal author, the divine Word, God revealing himself, and, since we can never know an unrevealed God, the only God with whom we have to do or with whom we shall ever have to do. "No man hath seen God at any time." "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

The second term, "revelation," brings before us this same Christ as made known, as the truth of God communicated and made an objective possession of mankind. So "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy"; he is the author, the subject, the end of Old Testament revelation; and the new dispensation is simply his emerging from behind the scenes where he has been invisibly managing the drama of history, to take visible part in the play, to become the leading actor in it, and to bring it to its *dénoûement*. The curtain has not fallen and will not fall to the end of the world. But that appearance of the incarnate, crucified, risen, ascending God has given us the key to human history. It is he who conducts its course and who makes the forces of nature and the gifts of the Spirit tributary to his everlasting kingdom.

Since Christ, then, is God revealed, it is not enough for a Christian to say that God is the source of authority in religion—he must also say, in order to give completer expression to the truth, that Christ is the ultimate source of authority. If I can ascertain what Christ says in nature, that will be authority for me. If I can learn what he says in the constitution of the human mind, that will be authority for me also. Christ speaks in providence to the individual and he speaks in history to the race. But it is in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments that I find his works and his words most perfectly set forth.

What is the relation which the Bible sustains to him? I give a two-fold answer to this question. I say, on the one hand, that the Bible, like the earthly father and the civil ruler, like conscience and the church, has an authority which is divine. I say, on the other hand, that this authority, like theirs, is delegated and subordinate, limited to the sphere in which it was meant to move and to the purposes for which it was designed. It was not meant to teach us mathematics, but it was meant to teach us of Christ. It was not meant to teach us how the heavens go, but to teach us how to go to heaven. Through it the Holy Spirit leads us into all religious truth, the truth as it is in Jesus.

It is quite conceivable that the whole revelation of God in Christ might have been given without any written record of it. The memory of past works and words of God might have been handed down by word of mouth. Such was doubtless the method by which the knowledge of God's earliest communications to mankind was transmitted in the days of the patriarchs.

So it is generally agreed that the gospel narrative was orally preserved for twenty or thirty years before it was permanently committed to writing.

Was there no religious authority in the days of the patriarchs? Was there no religious authority in the thirty years which followed Christ's resurrection? Ah, yes! The truth was in the world; the church was founded upon that truth; that truth was mighty to convince mankind; there was authority in the truth. But there was then no New Testament Scripture, for no one had then been commissioned to write it. Neither the safety of the church nor the authority of the truth depended at that time upon the existence of Scripture. And it is conceivable that it might be so to-day; that tradition might still be authoritative, though the facts of Christianity had never been recorded.

We claim, moreover, that the record of these facts which we actually possess might be authoritative even if that record had never been inspired. There have been men like Priestley, who believed in all the miracles upon the testimony of the evangelists, while at the same time he denied to their accounts any inspiration, and regarded them simply as genuine and authentic historical documents. But if Christianity could conceivably be authenticated to the world without inspiration, and even without a written record, it is much more true that Christianity does not stand or fall with any particular theory of inspiration.

Let us make sure that we use the terms "revelation," "illumination," "inspiration," with a perfectly definite meaning. Half the perplexity and alarm which agitates many excellent Christians would disappear if they would

once consider that, while "revelation" is the communication of new truth from God, and "illumination" is the quickening of man's powers to understand truth already revealed, "inspiration" is simply the qualifying of men to put that truth into permanent and written form.

Revelation and illumination then may exist, and at times they have existed, without inspiration. When we deny that Christianity stands or falls with the doctrine of inspiration as a whole, or with any theory of inspiration in particular, we are not denying or imperiling in the least the reality of divine revelation. We are only saying that the facts of Christ's life and teaching are greater than any written record of them, and that the substantial truth of the Scripture history may be vindicated just as the truth of many secular narratives has been.

We believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures and of every part of the Scriptures. The Bible not only contains, but it is, the word of God. But as Christ is the truth and his inspiring Spirit is the Spirit of truth, the word which he has inspired has no need of special pleading. It covets the closest examination; it fears no criticism, provided the criticism be candid. There is indeed a self-sufficient and prejudiced study that comes to the Bible determined to find nothing there that will humble the sinner or suggest his need of supernatural aid, and such study will be blind to the most important facts of revelation. It will see in Christ only a man like ourselves; it will strip from his brow the halo of miracle and prophecy that surrounds it; it will find in Scripture no fulfillment of his promise that the Spirit should lead his disciples into all the truth.

But to the truly scientific mind,—and we mean by this simply the mind that is integral, that has conscience and affection active, as well as the merely logical understanding,—to the truly scientific mind, I say, that same Scripture will be self-evidencing; the law and the prophets and the Psalms will speak of Christ; minor obscurities and difficulties will be forgotten in the overpowering impression that this revelation is from God. Believing it to be the very word of Christ, we welcome investigation; we form in advance no peculiar theories of inspiration; we are content to let science and criticism tell us what inspiration is. The supremacy of Christ, and not any theory of inspiration, is the citadel of our faith. We refuse to confound the citadel with any of those temporary outworks which past ages have constructed to defend it, and with which our modern artillery enables us in some cases to dispense.

Upon what, then, must we insist, and what points may we regard as unessential in our judgment of the Scriptures? I answer, We must insist that the Bible, taken together, is a complete and sufficient guide to Christ and salvation. It contains the truth which God saw to be best adapted to man's moral and religious needs. It is given in the forms that will most stimulate and satisfy the candid and inquiring soul. When rightly interpreted, it is an infallible guide to Christian doctrine. As to all the essential historical facts, both of the earlier and the later dispensation, both with regard to Moses and with regard to Christ, it gives us true and sufficient information. So it is the very truth of God, in the sphere and for the purposes of divine revelation.

But it is not essential that we regard every unimpor-

tant historical detail as vouched for by inspiration, or that we hold the Bible to any man-made standard of literary perfection or scientific accuracy. These things are beside the purpose of revelation. There is a human element in the Bible. It is God's "word made flesh," put into imperfect forms of human speech, clothed in the garb of earthly custom and usage, but for that very reason meeting men on their own level and speaking to them in the tongue in which they were born. So the very humanity of the Bible is the best proof of its divinity.

Do I say that there are errors in matters of historical detail, errors in New Testament translations from the Hebrew, errors in exegesis, errors in logic? I say nothing of the kind. I do not myself feel compelled to recognize such errors as existing in the original autographs. I have carefully examined one after another of the so-called contradictions between different historical books of the Bible, and I have yet to find one where some reasonable hypothesis will not furnish a reconciliation. The so-called errors of translation, exegesis, logic, seem to me, in almost every case, to be the figments of a shallow criticism or an unbelieving spirit.

But I recognize the right of others to another conclusion than mine. I am not willing to stake the Christian faith upon the correctness even of the original autographs of Scripture in matters so unessential as these. I open my mind to evidence. I do not prejudge the case. I refuse to impose on students for the ministry the dogma of absolute inerrancy in matters which do not affect the substance of the Bible history, or the substance of the Bible doctrine. I refuse to

make either baptism or ordination conditional upon the candidate's ability to say that Scripture is absolutely free from error in matters which have nothing to do with Christ or salvation.

I remember that although the great mass of our present Old Testament Scriptures was in the time of Christ regarded as indubitably canonical, there was yet a sort of penumbra around the sun ; the sacred writings shaded off into some that were not so sacred ; about Esther and the Song of Solomon some of the rabbis doubted whether they were really a part of the word of God. So I find in the early church far less external evidence for Second Peter than for the synoptic Gospels ; even about the Epistle to the Hebrews some doubted ; the New Testament had its penumbra like the Old ; for four centuries the outline of the sun's disc was not perfectly defined. And now in our day, among those who accept the whole Bible, there is a question whether even around the great sunlike testimony of the accepted books there may not be a penumbra, or shading off into inaccuracy, of historical or scientific detail. This, I say, is a mere question of fact, and its decision either one way or the other should not shake in the least our confidence in the proper authority of Scripture.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was a great painter and a great teacher of his art. His lectures on painting laid down principles which have been accepted as authority for generations. But Joshua Reynolds illustrates his subject from history and science. It was a day when both history and science were young. In some unimportant matters of this sort, which do not in the least affect his conclusions, Sir Joshua makes an occasional slip ; his

statements are inaccurate. Does he, therefore, cease to be an authority in matters of his art? And must I have presented to me the alternative of renouncing Joshua Reynolds as a guide in painting, or of taking for absolute truth all his statements of historical and scientific detail?

I say, once more, that I do not as yet find indubitable evidence that the original autographs of Scripture were marked by such errors of detail. But I say also that the question is not one of such moment as to make me willing to exclude from my Christian fellowship one who thinks he *does* find such errors. We may still hold to one Lord, one faith, one baptism. If my brother, after patient, candid, and reverent investigation, thinks that he finds such errors, let him say so; no man is required to lie for God. The Christian should love truth, for Christ is the Truth. He should face the facts, for whatever they may be, and however the knowledge of them may require the modification of his former views, Baptists, above all, should recognize the right of private judgment and should not be quick to stigmatize possible progress as heresy.

The anxiety of many Christians to maintain the historical and scientific inerrancy of Scripture is mainly the result of their fear that the possibility of mistake in such minor matters may carry with it the possibility of mistake in the greater matters of faith and doctrine. But the fallibility of the record in the one case does not necessarily involve its fallibility in the other. A secular history may be perfectly trustworthy in its great features, while yet it is inaccurate in some of its details. The Duke of Wellington said once that no human

being knew at what time of day the battle of Waterloo began. One historian gets his story from one combatant, and he puts the hour at eleven in the morning. Another historian has his information from another combatant, and he puts it at noon. Shall we say that this discrepancy argues error in the whole account and that we have no longer any certainty that the battle of Waterloo was ever fought at all? Nay, verily. Both historians may be good authority for all the main facts of the battle, notwithstanding this difference with regard to the precise time of its commencement.

What we need in Scripture is an absolute authority in matters pertaining to salvation. The Bible may conceivably be an authority about Christ and Christian truth without being absolutely inerrant in its account of the numbers slain in some Old Testament battle, or of the length of time from Abraham to Moses. In its chosen sphere it is infallible, and its chosen sphere is the revelation of moral and religious truth.

We see a striking combination of authority and errancy in many a legal decision. The judgment as a whole is final and binding, for it is a judgment of the highest court. So far as it keeps to the purpose of its utterance, it settles the matter at issue; but the *obiter dicta* of the judge, his allusions to other matters, his remarks by the way, while they may be instructive and interesting, are not necessarily authoritative.

Now in Scripture there is certainly no forgery, no misrepresentation or idealization, no conscious connivance at the mistakes of others. But if any one says that the most natural explanation of certain apparent discrepancies is that each of the differing authors used

the material ready to his hand, and that the Spirit of inspiration did not regard it as worth the while to correct the unimportant variation, I cannot prove that his view is incorrect. It would only enlarge a little my conception of the amount of human imperfection which the Holy Spirit may leave in inspired Scripture. It would only make the Scripture histories a little more like secular histories, two of which may vary in slight details, while both of them in all essentials are perfectly harmonious.

It becomes us to be very slow in concluding that seeming discrepancies are real errors, for many such difficulties in the past have been removed by increasing knowledge. Careful examination has strengthened rather than weakened faith in the accuracy of Scripture. But let us not preclude inquiry by any *a priori* theory of what the Bible must be. Why should we deny to inspired men the right to use all the ordinary methods of honest literature? Why may they not collect material as other historians do? Why may they not embody previously existing documents in their own productions? Why may not truth be put in parabolic or dramatic form? Why may not the words of Satan, or of wicked men, or of good men in their occasional periods of depression or skepticism, be embodied in sacred literature, to give examples of all the various experiences of life under the providence and discipline of God?

Do you say that this leaves us without a clue to what is true and what is false? Not so. In each of these cases inspiration guarantees that the story is true to nature and valuable as containing divine instruction;

and the difficulty of distinguishing man's words from God's words, or ideal truth from actual truth, only gives stimulus to inquiry, puts us upon our honor and conscience, and makes the book of Scripture more like the book of nature, which yields its treasures of knowledge only to the diligent and devout.

God's word is "a stream in which the lamb may wade and the elephant may swim." There is a general plainness of teaching, so that the wayfaring man may read as he runs. The tenor of Scripture will not be mistaken by any sinner who humbly seeks the way of life. Not from single passages, isolated from their context, are we to gather our scheme of doctrine. We are "to compare spiritual things with spiritual." "Every scripture inspired by God is profitable," but the parts are of complete authority only when taken in connection with the whole. Inspiration, then, makes the whole Scripture to be the word of God. And by inspiration I mean—to use the language of another—"such a complete and immediate communication by the Holy Spirit to the minds of the sacred writers of those things which could not have been otherwise known, and such an effectual superintendence as to those things concerning which they might otherwise obtain information, as sufficed absolutely to preserve them from every degree of error in all things which could in the least affect the doctrines or precepts contained in their writings."

And this is to say over again, in other words, that the Scriptures are not the original, but the reflection; not the Being revealed, but the revelation of that Being; not the Christ, but the witness to him. I reverence the Bible, then, as an organic and progressive account

of Christ's historical work and teaching, both under the Old Dispensation and under the New. I reverence it because of him, not him because of it. When he tells me that not one jot or tittle of the law shall pass away till all be fulfilled, I take his word as true. If I can find out precisely what he meant when he says that Moses wrote of him, I shall believe that.

The higher criticism, conducted in a humble and candid spirit, can only show me the real meaning of Christ's words. I have no fear of the higher criticism, therefore, but rather welcome it as a new means to the understanding of Christ. That the Pentateuch is a composite production made up in part of documents which Moses found ready to his hand, and also in small part of material added after Moses' death, is now a matter of probability. Yet still, Moses is substantially its author. I believe that the higher criticism itself will yet show the most of it to have been written by him. What others added, and how they added it, I hold myself free as air to determine, after the investigation of the facts and the application of proper scientific tests.

The authority and sufficiency of Scripture, as a rule of faith and practice, is the formal principle of the Reformation. Too many martyrs have shed their blood for it, for us to be willing to renounce it now. But not even Protestants have the right to put the formal principle of the Reformation before its material principle, justification by faith. The Christ in whom we believe is greater and more perfect than the Bible, which only speaks of him. And the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture is just as important an

article of faith, and just as essential to a complete Christian life, as is the authority of Scripture itself.

We may be compelled to admit that there are literary, historical, and scientific imperfections to some small extent in the Bible, but we can never admit that there are imperfections in Christ. He is the final and ultimate authority, while the authority of Scripture is subordinate and limited. He is himself the Word of God, and Scripture is but the reflection of that Word. His words are the very words of God, for he says: "I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak: whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the Father hath said unto me, so I speak."

In his last great prayer our Lord declares that he had communicated God's words to men: "All things whatsoever thou hast given me are from thee; for the words which thou gavest me I have given unto them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came from thee, and believed that thou didst send me." He promised that the memory of his communications should not leave his disciples' minds. "The Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you." The result of this work of the Holy Spirit is the Scriptures of the New Testament. They are inspired, as the Old Testament Scriptures were inspired. They derive their authority from Christ himself; and so, in spite of the human element that mingles with them, they constitute "the word of God which liveth and abideth forever," and they are "able to make us wise unto salvation."

Thus reason and conscience, themselves possessing a limited and individual authority, are put under the advisement of State and Church, which possess a larger and more general authority. But Scripture, the record of God's special revelation, overtops all these; and, where Scripture plainly speaks, reason and conscience, Church and State, must bow. And yet, even above this revelation stands the Revealer; and the source of all authority is not Scripture, but Christ. The hierarchy finds its summit in him who is "the head of all principality and power."

Nowhere are we told that the Scripture of itself is able to convince the sinner or to bring him to God. It is a glittering sword, but it is "the sword of the Spirit"; and unless the Spirit use it, it will never pierce the heart. It is a heavy hammer, but only the Spirit can wield it so that it breaks in pieces the flinty rock. It is the type locked in the form, but the paper will never receive an impression until the Spirit shall apply the power. No mere instrument shall have the glory that belongs to God. Every soul shall feel its entire dependence upon him. Only the Holy Spirit can turn the outer word into an inner word. And the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ. Christ comes into direct contact with the soul. He himself gives his witness to the truth. He bears testimony to Scripture, even more than Scripture bears testimony to him.

We are, therefore, to worship, not the book, but him who gave the book. May it not be for this very reason God has left the book still laden with marks of human imperfection, sometimes errors of grammar and rudeness of style, sometimes the imperfect morality of the earlier

ages, in order that we may bow only to him to whom the whole book points—the Christ of God, who is himself God's one and only complete revelation to man?

One of the earliest recollections of my childhood is that of a great family Bible, with a cover of brilliant red, which stood upon the center-table of our humble parlor. One day I stood upon tip-toe and ventured to open it. Upon the title-page I saw the picture of a book, from which rays of light seemed to stream in every direction. A feeling of awe seized me; God seemed to be in the book; the book was almost God.

In that picture, and in my childish impression of it, there was a solemn truth, and I would not undervalue it. But I have learned to correct the symbol. The Bible is not an original source of light,—it only transmits the light of Christ. It is not an original source of power,—it only serves as the vehicle and instrument of Christ's power. Christ is the source from which the rays proceed, and Scripture is but the earthly mirror that reflects his glory. Like the Holy Spirit who inspired it, it does not magnify itself,—it takes of the things of Christ and shows them to us. We use it rightly when we permit it to lead us to him. It is like the angel who showed to John, in the Apocalypse, the things that should shortly be done. If we ever are so dazzled by its beams that we bow down to worship it, it reminds us at once that its authority is delegated and limited, that it only reflects the glory of the divine Redeemer; and we hear it saying to us: "See thou do it not: worship God!"

MODERN TENDENCIES IN THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT¹

I SALUTE this great new institution, this infant Hercules, the achievements of whose cradle promise such wonders to come. The breadth of conception which determines its policy is no less admirable than the solidity of its material foundations. Whatever the term university may originally have meant, it has come to designate a collection of schools which teaches the whole circle of the sciences and is hospitable to all knowledge. There was a time when theology was counted the queen of the sciences, and was granted the central and commanding place among the various disciplines. Though that day is past, and the right of theology to lord it over the world is now as passionately denied as it was once passionately maintained, the greatest universities have never done such discredit to the higher nature of man as to shut theology out. The Register of the University of Chicago is witness that in your judgment theology has at least her equal claim to a hearing at the bar of enlightened reason. Her main contentions, however suspected and questioned they may be, still have power to awaken the deepest interest. Great movements in the world of faith have importance for us all. They have their influ-

¹ An address delivered at the Convocation of The University of Chicago, October 1, 1896.

ence not only upon practical life, but upon all other realms of knowledge. I trust then that I do not transcend the proprieties of this notable academic occasion when I take for my theme, "Modern Tendencies in Theological Thought."

Suffer a single word of preliminary statement with regard to the point of view from which my observations are conducted. Theology claims to be a science because it is the recognition, classification, and interpretation, by reason, of objective facts concerning God and concerning God's relations to the universe. Theology, however, is a product of reason, not in the narrow sense of mere reasoning, but in the larger sense of the mind's whole power of knowing. Man does not consist of intellect alone, and, paradoxical as it may seem, man does not know with the intellect alone. States of the sensibility are needed to know music; a feeling for beauty is requisite to any understanding of plastic art; and the morally right is not rightly discerned except by those who love the morally right. In a similar way there are states of the affections which are necessary to know God. It is the pure in heart that see God. He that loveth God knoweth God; and this is the doctrine of Immanuel Kant: "This faith of reason," he says, "is founded on the assumption of moral tempers." If one were absolutely indifferent to moral laws, he continues, religious truths "would still be supported by strong arguments from analogy, but not by such as an absolutely skeptical bent might not be able to overcome."

Theology is based upon faith; but theology still claims to be a science, because faith is not speculation or im-

agination, but the act of the integral soul, the exercise of reason in this larger sense. Faith is not only knowledge; it is the highest knowledge, because it is the insight not of one eye alone, but of the two eyes of the mind, intellect on the one hand and love to God on the other. With one eye you can see an object as flat, but if you wish to see around it and get the stereoptic effect, you must use two. It is not the theologian but the undevout astronomer whose science is one-eyed, and therefore incomplete. Faith brings us in contact with and gives us understanding of realities which to mere sense alone are as if they were not. The errors of the rationalist are the errors of defective vision. What he cannot see he declares to have no existence, and what he does see lacks truth and proportion. A woman of rank once said to Turner, the painter, that she could not see in nature such effects as he depicted upon his canvas. The artist replied: "Ah, madam, don't you wish you could?" He had a sense of beauty which she had not. So the Scripture speaks of the eyes of the heart, and intimates that they must be enlightened before we can come to a knowledge of religious truth.

Now theology is in large part the effort to justify to the one eye what was originally seen by the two; or, in other words, to find rational confirmation and explanation of the facts certified to us by faith. It is not wonderful, it is only natural, that with this two-fold origin of our religious knowledge there should be at different times a predominance of the one element over the other. Insight at one time overtops logic and logic at another time overtops insight. For this reason the history of theological thought is, like the history of thought in

general, a history not of rectilinear but of spiral progress. Excessive confidence in one source of knowledge provokes revolt. Advocacy of the other goes to the extent of utter denial of the first. The next generation comes back to the element that had been denied, but grasps it now more intelligently in an organic synthesis with truth gotten from the other source. But theology stands now on a higher plane than it did before. It not only sees with both eyes, but the astigmatism that saw things double is corrected, and it is perceived that a true science is inseparable from religion.

It is, I believe, in the interest of no sect or school, but only in the interest of simple scientific truth, that I speak to-day of recent tendencies of theological thought. I call your attention to them because the element of truth in them gives to them a certain value, though the element of error needs to be eliminated if we would get from them an unqualified result of good. We must acknowledge that the exaggerations of mediæval and of post-Reformation theology, and its pretense to a knowledge beyond what is written, have by a natural reaction given place to a questioning of much that is true and fundamental. Gnosticism has given place to agnosticism, not so much with regard to the existence of God as with regard to the person and work of Christ. The raw sailor who was ordered to steer toward the north star was found to have lost his course and to be driving his vessel toward quite a different quarter of the heavens, but his excuse was that he "had *sailed by* that star." Current theology for the last twenty years in Germany, and now at length in this country, has sailed by the pole star that used to guide

it,—the deity and atonement of our Lord,—and it becomes a serious question whether the star has changed its place or whether theology has gotten off its proper track.

Though this theology presents a conception of our Lord quite new to this generation, its watchword nevertheless is: "Back to Christ." This phrase expresses a revolt from the old orthodoxy, and at the same time suggests a reason for the result. Supernaturalism on the one hand and dogma on the other are held to be accretions, if not excrescences, upon original Christianity. Science, it is thought, must strip off these integuments and go back to the earlier Jesus, who was only a moral teacher and the best of men. Some would call this Jesus the historical Christ, others would call him the ideal Christ, but both classes would agree that we must give up the Christ of supernaturalism and dogma, and must go back to a Christ who can stand the tests of modern scientific investigation.

When Professor Blackie, of Edinburgh, was asked to go back for his church government to the Fathers, he replied that he had no objection to antiquity, but that he preferred to go back still farther to the grandfathers, namely, the apostles. So there is a great truth in this phrase, "Back to Christ," and the main purpose of my address is to vindicate it. I too would go back to Christ, but in a larger and deeper sense than the phrase commonly bears. I would go back to Christ as to that which is original in thought, archetypal in creation, immanent in history; to the Logos of God, who is not only the omniscient reason, but also the personal conscience and will, at the heart of the universe. I would go

back farther than to the birth of the Son of Mary, namely, to the ante-mundane life of the Son of God. I would go back to Christ, but I would carry with me and would lay at his feet all the new knowledge of his greatness which philosophy and history have given. I would reach the true Christ, not by a process of exclusion, but by a process of inclusion. And this I claim to be an application of the methods of science, when science possesses herself of all accessible facts and uses all her means of knowledge.

We must judge beginnings by endings and not endings by beginnings. Evolution only shows what was the nature of the involution that went before. Nothing can come out that was not, at least latently, in the germ. I must interpret the acorn by the oak, not the oak by the acorn. Only as I know the glory and strength of the mighty tree can I appreciate the meaning and value of the nut from which it sprang. "We can understand the *Amœba* and the *Polyp*," says Lewes, "only by a light reflected from the study of man." It is only an application of this method of interpreting the germ by what comes out of it, when Christian faith sees in Christ the source of the whole modern movement toward truth and righteousness, makes his historic appearance upon earth the beginning of a spiritual kingdom of God, and so recognizes him as divine Wisdom and Love incarnate. I would go back to Christ, but I would let nature and humanity and the church tell the true nature of him from whom they all derived their being and in whom they all consist.

There is an insight of Christian love which rejects the conception of Christ as a merely ethical teacher, a

teacher who made no claim to supernatural knowledge and power, and to this testimony of experts science must give heed. It is very plain that the Christ to whom recent theology bids us go back is not the Christ on whom the church has believed and who has wrought the transformations which have been witnessed in individual lives and in Christian history. It is not such a Christ as this to whom the penitent has looked for forgiveness and the sorrowing for comfort. It is not for such a Christ as this that the martyrs have laid down their lives. The insight of love has through all the ages recognized Christ as a miraculous and divine Saviour. Can that be a true theology which ignores the testimony of these centuries of Christian experience? Is it not more likely that the naïve impressions of a two-eyed reason may be more trustworthy than the critical perceptions of a one-eyed intellect? I do not quarrel with efforts to bring incarnation and resurrection within the domain of a higher order. To say that "all's love" does not prevent us from saying in the same breath that "all's law." All I claim is that there is as much evidence of divine freedom as there is of human freedom; that nature does not prevent surprising and unique acts of God any more than it prevents surprising and unique acts of man; and that intellect enlightened by love cannot only recognize but defend the rationality of the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, and of an atonement for the sins of men made by him who is the original author and the continuous upholder of their being.

The Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament afford trustworthy evidence that these Christian convic-

tions have a sound historical basis ; are justified by the actual teachings and events of Jesus' life ; conform to the essential beliefs of the earliest followers of Christ. Of all our present Gospels, the Gospel according to Mark is acknowledged to represent most nearly the first Christian tradition. If Christ has been what the recent theology supposes, of what sort should we expect Mark's Gospel to be? Surely it should consist mainly of an account of Jesus' life ; it should be devoid of miracle ; it should be replete with moral teaching. But what are the facts? The Sermon on the Mount, the fullest statement of our Lord's ethical instruction, is wholly lacking in Mark's Gospel. Miracles are crowded into it so thickly that it is justly called the Gospel of the Wonder-worker. Instead of the life of Christ being the dominant thought, the reader gets the impression that Jesus is hurrying onward to his death, and that his death instead of his life is the work which he came to accomplish. If we are to determine what Christianity originally was by the testimony of the earliest Gospel, it would appear that its main characteristics were not our Lord's holy life and ethical teaching, but rather his supernatural power and his atoning death.

If it be said that even Mark gives us more than the original gospel, and that we cannot absolutely rely on anything in him which is not also found in the other synoptics, I call attention to the fact that the briefer triple tradition, vouched for by all three evangelists, contains the narratives of the healing of the leper and the paralytic, the casting out of the Gadarene demons, the raising of Jairus' daughter, the multiplying of the

loaves, the walking on the sea, and the transfiguration. All three Gospels declare Christ's power to forgive sins, his lordship over the Sabbath, his giving of his blood for his disciples. They predict his resurrection, his second coming, the eternal validity of his words, the final triumph of his kingdom. Here is dogma as well as miracle ; in fact, the words deity and atonement are only the concrete statement of the impressions which these facts and utterances make upon us. Unless then the whole of this earliest study was fraud or delusion, to go back to Christ is to go back to a Being of supernatural power whose mission is not so much moral teaching as it is dying for men's sins.

In the four great Epistles of Paul we have even earlier witnesses than the Gospel according to Mark, for these Epistles were composed before Mark put the gospel story into written form. Paul indeed wrote at a time when there were still living a multitude of persons who had seen Jesus and who could contradict any erroneous account of him. Yet Paul asserts Christ's resurrection as an indubitable fact, the one fact indeed upon which Christianity itself was based. Not only is this greatest of miracles declared, but it is made comprehensible by Paul's teaching with regard to our Lord's divinity and incarnation. In Paul we have already the germs of the Logos-doctrine of John's Gospel. The Epistle to the Philippians tells us that before the incarnation Christ was in the form of God ; the Epistle to the Colossians tells us that it was he through whom the universe was made and upheld. Though the Epistle to the Hebrews is not directly from Paul's hand, it only sets forth the substance of Paul's doctrine

when it expressly gives to Christ the name of God. Nor is there in all these utterances any evidence that such doctrine was new. They declare only what was matter of common faith in the days of the apostles.

When we come to John's Gospel, therefore, we find in it the mere unfolding of truth that for substance had been in the world for at least sixty years. That the beloved disciple, after a half-century of meditation upon what he had seen and heard of God manifest in the flesh, should have penetrated more deeply into the meaning of that wonderful revelation is not only not surprising,—it is precisely what Jesus himself foretold. Our Lord had many things to say to his disciples, but then they could not bear them. He promised that the Holy Spirit should bring to their remembrance both himself and his words, and should lead them into all the truth. And this is the whole secret of what are called accretions to original Christianity. So far as they are contained in Scripture, they are inspired discoveries and unfoldings, not mere speculations and inventions. They are not additions but elucidations, not vain imaginings but correct interpretations. If the Platonizing philosophy of Alexandria assisted in this genuine development of Christian doctrine, then the Alexandrian philosophy was a providential help to inspiration. The microscope does not invent; it only discovers. Paul and John did not add to the truth of Christ; their philosophical equipment was only a microscope which brought into clear view the truth that was there already. Human reason does impose its laws and forms upon Scripture and upon the universe, but in so doing it only interprets their real meaning.

When the later theology, then, throws out the supernatural and dogmatic, as coming not from Jesus but from Paul's Epistles and from the fourth Gospel, our claim is that Paul and John are only inspired and authoritative interpreters of Jesus, seeing themselves and making us see the fullness of the Godhead that dwelt in him. If we go back to Christ, we must go back with all the light upon his being and his mission which Paul and John have given. Instead of stripping him of supernatural and dogmatic elements, we must clothe him with them, for they are his own. Without them, indeed, Christ is no Saviour. Mrs. Browning said well in "Aurora Leigh":

The Christ himself had been no Lawgiver,
Unless he had given the Life too with the Law.

He could not *give* the life unless he *were* the Life. Those who would go back to Christ, in the sense of discarding the supernatural and the dogmatic, deprive us of the very essence of Christianity and leave it without authority or efficacy. They give us simple law instead of gospel, and summon us before a tribunal that damns us. To degrade doctrine by exalting precept is to leave men without the motive or the power to obey the precept. The Alexandrian philosophy enabled Paul and John to interpret Christ better than this; it enabled them to see in him the life of God, and so the life of man. Not only the Alexandrian philosophy, but all subsequent philosophy—yes, all science, all history, all art—has its part to play in enlarging and classifying our conceptions of him. And so we come to our proper task. Let us go back to Christ with the new

understanding of him which modern thought has given us. We propose to go back from deism to Christ, the Life of Nature ; from atomism to Christ, the Life of Humanity ; from externalism to Christ, the Life of the Church.

Deism represents the universe as a self-sustained mechanism, from which God withdrew so soon as he had created it, and which he left to a process of self-development. It insists on the inviolability and sufficiency of natural law as well as on the exclusively mechanical view of the world. The solar system is regarded as a sort of "perpetual motion," which God made, indeed, but which does not need God to uphold it. I do not claim that the Christian church or the Christian pulpit has consciously adopted this view, but I do claim that both church and pulpit have unconsciously been far too greatly influenced by it. We have fallen in with modes of thinking caught from the skepticism of the past century, and are only gradually coming to realize how irrational and unscriptural they are. Modern science and modern philosophy have been teaching us better. The fact of the dissipation of energy shows that the universe can be no "perpetual motion," and that mere mechanism can never explain the forces which are presupposed in it. Force itself can never be understood except as the exercise of will. Dead things cannot act. God must be *in* his universe in order to any movement or life. The living God must be the constant source of power.

Thus the thought of the world inclines more and more to the conviction that no merely mechanical explanation of the universe suffices ; that biology is more

fundamental than physics ; and that underneath physics must be psychology. The system of things cannot be conceived as a universe without postulating an omnipresent reason and will. The Christian believer goes further than this. He instinctively identifies this omnipresent reason and will with him from whom he receives the forgiveness of sins, who dwells as a living presence in his soul, and before whom he bows in unlimited worship and adoration. In all this he only follows the lead of Scripture, for the Scripture too identifies the omnipresent, living, and upholding God, with Jesus Christ. In other words, the eternal Word through whom the universe was created is still the life and sustainer of it, and this eternal Word took bodily form and manifested his fullness in Jesus Christ. The deism that separated nature from God and virtually denied his omnipresence is demonstrated to be error only when we recognize Christ as Immanuel, God with us. It is none other than the Creator and Upholder of the universe that has died to save us. All nature assumes new significance now, as instinct with the same love and care that led our Lord to endure the cross. Nature is not itself God, and we are not pantheists. But nature is the constant expression of God. In it we hear the same divine voice that spake from Sinai under the Old Dispensation and that uttered the Sermon on the Mount under the New. Ruskin once wrote :

The divine mind is as visible in its full energy of operation on every lowly bank and mouldering stone as in the lifting of the pillars of heaven and settling the foundations of the earth, and to the rightly perceiving mind there is the same infinity, the same majesty, the same power, the same unity, and the same perfec-

tion manifested in the casting of the clay as in the scattering of the cloud, in the mouldering of dust as in the kindling of the day star.

But how much more sacred and beautiful does the world become when we get back to Christ, its Maker and its Life. When we recognize him therein, nature may well be called a great sheet let down from God out of heaven, wherein is nothing common or unclean. The smallest diatom that clings to the waving reed is worthy of profound study, because the wisdom and will of Christ are displayed in it, and the Milky Way is but the dust thrown aloft by the invisible chariot wheels of the infinite Son of God as he rides forth to subdue all things unto himself.

In this recognition of Christ as the Life of Nature I see the guarantee that theology and science will come to complete accord. They are but pictures of Christ's working taken from different points of view. Theology tells us the *Why*, while Science tells us the *How*. We need have no fear of evolution, for evolution is only the common method of Christ, a method, however, which does not fetter him, because his immanence in nature is qualified by his transcendence above nature. Immanence alone would be Christ imprisoned, as transcendence alone would be Christ banished. Reason and faith are not antagonistic to each other. They are working toward the same end—the discovery and unfolding of the truth as it is in Jesus. When the great tunnel of St. Gothard was constructed, workmen bored simultaneously from either side of the Alps. For nearly ten years they worked on in the dark. But in 1881 one of the parties began to hear, through the

lessening thickness of the intervening rock, the sounds of the hammer and the voices of the workmen from the other side. Then it was a small matter to break through the barrier and to clasp hands. It was a wonderful feat of engineering to bring together those two sets of workmen in the heart of the mountain and in the center of a tunnel nine and one-half miles long. But Christ our Lord is accomplishing a greater wonder in bringing together in himself the forces of reason and of faith, of theology and of science, that through all the Christian centuries have been blindly approaching each other. Their union is possible, simply because theology has been seeking Christ and Christ is the truth, while science has been seeking the truth and the truth is Christ.

As I proposed to go back from our modern deism to Christ the Life of Nature, so I now propose to go back from our modern atomism to Christ the Life of Humanity. Atomism, in my use of the word, may be defined as that system of thought which regards men merely as individuals, and which ignores the organic unity of mankind on the one hand, and its connection with God on the other. The New England theology is a striking illustration of the lengths to which this atomism could go. It came to regard each human being as an isolated unit, completely detached from others. The members of the race, if indeed there could be said to be a race, were separated from each other as bricks set up on end that tumble only as they are influenced from without, or as grains of sand that have no other union than that of mere juxtaposition. A sign of this method of thought was creationism, with its origination of each human soul by separate divine fiat.

Another sign was the maxim that all sin consists in sinning—a denial that there can be any corporate sin, or race responsibility, or organic unity in the primal transgression. And still another sign was the declaration that each man must make his own atonement, which means that there can be no atonement at all; for, unless Christ shares our humanity and we share his, there can be no escape from our own personal guilt and penalty.

Modern science and philosophy have been gradually undermining this atomistic system. Evolution, with its doctrine of the common origin of the race; traducianism, with its declaration that soul as well as body is derived from our ancestry; sociology, with its recognition of corporate good and evil; political ethics, with its attribution to the State of a quasi-personality; all these have been working to the advantage of Christian theology. Visiting the sins of the fathers on the children was thought to be most irrational, so long as it was seen only in Scripture; but, now that it takes the name of heredity, it is just as vigorously applauded. It once seemed harsh to say that the soul that sinneth it shall die, but when this is called the reign of law, the only danger is that even God will be denied the power to save the sinner. We have taken at least this step forward: We see that humanity is one, that it has a common origin, a common evil, a common destiny. Realism has superseded the scheme of arbitrary imputation. Humanity is a great tree which is not to be viewed from above, as a collection of separate leaves rustling in the breeze, but from beneath, as the outgrowth of one trunk and root, and as throbbing with one common life.

Thus far we have gotten, but there is another step to take, and to take that step is to furnish the principle of unification to both philosophy and theology. This common life is the life of God in Christ. Humanity is not a congeries of independent units,—it is an organic whole because the life of Christ is in it, and it is a manifestation of himself. What Origen in the third century said of the universe at large we can apply to humanity :

As our body, while consisting of many members, is yet an organism which is held together by one soul, so the universe is to be thought of as an immense living being which is held together by one soul, the power and Logos of God.

I hardly need to point out how greatly this relation to one another and to Christ exalts our human nature. We are inter-related, because we are related to Christ, who is the life of humanity. Pelagianism saw man's dignity in isolation. It was man's declaration of independence— independence of his fellows and independence of God. But that independence was a false independence—it was sin itself, separating the creature in will and purpose from the Creator. The true dignity of man is in his union with God, and that union both natural and moral is mediated only by Christ. We are coming to see that man lives, moves, and has his being only in Christ, the Word and Life of God. The individual, so far as his activities are rational and normal, is only a part and a manifestation of a greater whole. His ideals, his conscience, his inspiration, when he is inspired, come from a higher and larger reason than his own. Freedom and holiness are found only in volun-

tary union with Christ. As we are one with him by creation, and receive from him a physical and natural life, so we may become one with him by re-creation, and receive from him a moral and spiritual life. In his light alone we see light, and without his life our spirits die.

This is not the place to expound the relations of my theme to atonement and to justification, though I am greatly tempted to undue expansion here. I feel assured that, when we get back to Christ and recognize him as the life of humanity, we have found the key to these deepest problems of theology. I have hope for theology when I read in a recent non-theological review¹ such words as the following :

Christ is not only the goal of the race which is to be conformed to him, but he is also the vital principle which molds each individual of that race into its own similitude. The perfect type exists potentially through all the intermediate stages by which it is more and more nearly approached, and, if it did not exist, neither could they. There could be no development of an absent life. The goal of man's evolution, the perfect type of manhood, is Christ. He exists and has always existed potentially, in the race and in the individual, equally before as after his visible incarnation, equally in the millions of those who do not, as in the far fewer millions of those who do, bear his name. In the strictest sense of the words he is the life of man, and that in a far deeper and more intimate sense than he can be said to be the life of the rest of the universe.

This quotation prepares us for still another statement. As we have tried to go back from deism to Christ the Life of Nature, and from atomism to Christ the Life of

¹ Emma Marie Caillard, on "Man in the Light of Evolution," in the "Contemporary Review," December, 1893 ; pp. 873-881.

Humanity, so we now propose to go back from externalism to Christ the Life of the Church. Humanity is not itself the church, although many recent theologians would almost identify the one with the other. And humanity is not itself Christ, although some would almost persuade us that there is no Christ but the gradually developing divine idea in human nature. Both of these views fail to take seriously the fact of sin. Sin is confounded with weakness or disease or ignorance, instead of being regarded as self-perversion. It is regarded as the result of heredity and environment, the survival of animal traits, the negative condition of progress, instead of being frankly recognized as willful violation of law and departure from God. In short, the blame of sin is laid upon the Creator. But sin comes not from the Creator,—it comes from the creature. It is not a manifestation of Christ, but of the individual will. It is self-chosen moral separation from Christ, the soul's true life. But the Christ, from whom the soul cannot physically and naturally separate itself, still works within to enlighten the conscience and to renew the will. There is an original grace as well as an original sin. And Pfeiderer has well said in reply to Kant's sole dependence upon the individual will :

The Christian doctrine of redemption is that the moral liberation of the individual is not the effect of his own natural power, but the effect of the divine Spirit, who, from the beginning of human history, put forth his activity as the power educating to the good, and especially created for himself in the Christian community an organ for the education of the peoples and of individuals.¹

¹ "Philosophy of Religion," Vol. I., p. 261.

This divine Spirit we would call Christ. The church is valuable as representing him; but when we hear the church spoken of as if it were the one organ through which Christ manifests himself, we see in this an externalism against which we feel called to protest. We would go back of the church to the life hid with Christ in God which the church only expresses. Not first the church and then Christ, but first Christ and then the church. Not church ordinances make men Christians, whether the water of baptism or the wine of the supper, but only the regenerating Spirit of Christ within the soul. Man can destroy himself, but life and holiness can come only from another and a higher than himself. While it takes only one to do evil, it takes two to do good. King Alfred a thousand years ago expressed it with laboring quaintness of phrase: "When the good things of this life are good, then they are good through the goodness of the good man that worketh good with them,—and he is good through God." And Oliver Wendell Holmes, with all his dislike for Calvinism, could write:

Our midnight is thy smile withdrawn ;
 Our noontide is thy gracious dawn ;
 Our rainbow arch thy mercy's sign ;
 All, save the clouds of sin, are thine.

Here are unconsciously proclaimed the doctrines of grace. And the God who cannot be tempted of evil and who tempteth no man, but who is the only source of redemption and of righteousness, is Jesus Christ. Even Pfeleiderer, with his exaggerated naturalism and idealism, can say:

That the divine idea of man as "the son of his love," and of humanity as the kingdom of this Son of God, is the immanent final cause of all existence and development even in the prior world of nature. This has been the fundamental thought of the Christian gnosis since the apostolic age, and I think that no philosophy has yet been able to shake or to surpass this thought,—the corner-stone of an idealistic view of the world.¹

I am not now concerned to point out the exaggerations of which this doctrine is susceptible. It is possible to make ideal humanity rather than the divine Christ the center and source of redemption. It is possible to call the whole of humanity an Immanuel and Son of God and its whole history a continual incarnation of God, while at the same time denying the actual pre-existence and the essential deity of Jesus Christ, and refusing to give to him the divine name. But the power that works in universal humanity for good cannot be simply the power of an idea. It must be the power of a present living person, with his people according to his promise, even unto the end of the world. As it is possible to substitute for this present Christ a mere abstract and ideal conception, so it is possible to substitute for him a historical Christ, in the sense of a Christ of the past, a remembered Christ, who now exists only in the fancy or imagination of the believer, with no more present life and power than the ideal Christ of whom we have been speaking. What else, indeed, can the so-called historical Christ be but an imaginary Christ, when the history of that Christ in the Gospels is accounted mere legend and myth? Those who would take us back to this ideal Christ or to this

¹ "Philosophy of Religion," Vol. I., p. 272.

historical Christ, in the senses in which they use these terms, ignore Christ's exaltation and give us only the humbled Son of God. The Christ to whom I would go back is a different Christ from either of these. He is not simply a being of the past. He is Lord of the present and Judge of the future. He is the Eternal Word of God, the King of the Ages, the Prince of Life, the Worker of all Good, the same yesterday and to-day and forever. The militant church, filled with his Spirit and moving forward to the conquest of the world, is proof that he is risen from the dead, and that all power in heaven and earth is given into his hands.

So from deism we go back to Christ the Life of Nature ; from atomism to Christ the Life of Humanity ; from externalism to Christ the Life of the Church. I would have you notice that I have not used the word substance, but the word life. It is a mark of progress in philosophy that it has outgrown the old scholastic terminology of substance and qualities, essence and accidents, and has gone back to the far simpler and more scriptural category of life and its powers. It is good to get back to Christ, for he is the Life. Christ has his representatives, indeed. Church and ministry, Bible and doctrine, are his servants. But the servants have sometimes taken the vineyard for themselves and have driven out the Lord. Church and ministry, Bible and doctrine, are not themselves Christ, and they cannot save. It is only Christ who is the Light, and they are worthy of reverence only because they reflect his light and lead to him. Just so far as they usurp his prerogative and claim for themselves the honor and the power that belong to him, they injure his cause and substitute

a subtle idolatry for the worship of the true and living God. A large part of the unbelief of the present day has been caused by the unwarranted identification of these symbols and manifestations with Christ himself. Neither church nor ministry, Bible nor creed, is perfect. To discover imperfection in them is to prove that they are not in themselves divine. The remedy for unbelief is the frank confession that perfection lies not in these, but in him of whom they are the finite and incomplete representatives. So Tennyson :

They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.

From all these means and agencies our Lord draws our thought to himself. "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life"—the Way and the Truth, because he is the Life. "I am the Resurrection and the Life"—the miracle and doctrine of the resurrection are possible, only because Christ is the Life.

What then is the relation of theology to Scripture on the one hand and to philosophy on the other? Some would say that no theology is valid which is based upon either. Others would make theology a mere form of philosophy. But the solution of this problem, as of every other, is found in Christ. The grain of truth in both these views is their protest against the elevation of media to the place of source, of means to the place of ends. The fault of current evangelical theory is that it treats Scripture as the original source of truth, instead of regarding it as the mere expression of Christ, who alone is the truth. The result is that we have had a double standard, and

Scripture has been played against Christ and Christ against Scripture. There can be but one standard of truth or of right, even as there can be but one standard of commercial values. Not creed, but Christ ; not conscience, but Christ ; not Scripture, but Christ.

Now Christ is not shut up, for the expression of himself, to Scripture. Philosophy and science are expressions of him as well as Scripture. Our rational being is his work ; his life pulsates through our mental processes ; our ideals, our aspirations, our sympathies, just so far as they are just and true, are his voice. Because Christ is immanent in all men, their visions of truth and beauty and righteousness reveal him who from the beginning has been the light of the world. Sin has curtailed and perverted these sources of truth, and therefore Scripture furnishes a rectifying principle, and we test our conclusions by comparing them with the law and the testimony. But that is not to say that Scripture is itself the only and the perfect source of doctrine. Even Scripture is the incomplete manifestation of One who is greater than it,—even Christ, who alone is the wisdom and the truth of God.

To the man who has wearied himself in seeking for the truth amid abstract doctrines and formal creeds, it is an unspeakable relief to find that the truth is a personal Being, and that Christ himself is the Truth. This, as I interpret his book, was the experience of Berdoe. He was a student of medicine. He became an agnostic. Entangled in the toils of unbelief, yet eager to find some satisfaction for conscience and heart, he asked a certain theological professor where he could find light. And the professor wisely said to

him: "Buy a set of Robert Browning." Browning's continual insistence that Love is the central secret of the universe, and that this love is demonstrated in Christ, turned the medical student from an agnostic into a believer, and his recent book entitled "Robert Browning and the Christian Faith" is his own confession of faith. It is an illustration of the extent to which Christ is entering into modern literature and is turning poets into prophets. Not first doctrine and then Christ; not first creed and then Christ; not first inspiration and then Christ; not first Scripture and then Christ; but first Christ and then Scripture, inspiration, doctrine, creed; this is both the order of logic and the order of experience. Only Christ in us, a principle of life, makes Scripture, inspiration, doctrine, creed, intelligible; only the Truth within enables us to understand the truth without.

We need not only truth, but power. If truth be not a person, if it be not one with the life and will at the center of the universe, then it is only vain poetizing to say:

Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
While error, wounded, writhes in pain
And dies amid her worshipers.

Truth, without God, is an abstraction and not a power. In all moral conflicts there is an inward unsusceptibility, arising from the perversity of the affections and the will, which renders the work of truth's advocate long and arduous. When we look within and without we shall be pessimists, unless we believe that this truth is one with the reason and will of God which has been

manifest in Jesus Christ. Only they have a right to say that truth is mighty and will prevail who believe in the cross as God's judgment against moral evil and in the resurrection as God's pledge that this evil shall be overcome.

He who goes back to Christ as the life and power of God can have no doubt as to the issue of the struggle between good and evil, truth and error, for the secrets of all hearts are known to Christ, and he is the omnipotent force that works for good in human history. The solid globe is in his grasp, and when our prayer touches the hand that upholds the western hemisphere, the other hand can instantaneously answer that prayer in India or in Japan. His will is the electric current that throbs through the universe, and the faith of the humblest Christian can work wonders simply because it brings the soul into connection with that inexhaustible source of power. Light and movement are possible to the church of God, because the faith of the church, like the trolley, lays hold of him in whom is all the fullness of the Godhead, and to whom all power in heaven and earth is given. And we have hope for the race, hope for a kingdom of God in human society, hope for a purified nationality and State, hope for a parliament of man and federation of the world, because our Christ is not confined to the church, but is the universal life of humanity, the principle of all ethical and spiritual evolution, the one and only revealer of God in the universe.

THE FALL AND THE REDEMPTION OF MAN IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION¹

THERE is a Christian conception of evolution, and in the light of it, I propose to interpret the fall and the redemption of man. To prevent misunderstanding, I must define what I mean by evolution and what I mean by Christianity. The evolution I have in mind is not an atheistic and unteleological evolution. Evolution is not a cause but a method. God is the cause. He is in his universe, and he is the source of all its activities with the single exception of the evil activity of the human will. When I speak of evolution as the method of God, I imply that the immanent God works by law; that this law is the law of development; that God makes the old the basis of the new, and the new an outgrowth from the old. In all ordinary cases God works from within and not from without. Yet this ordinary method does not confine or limit God. He is transcendent as well as immanent. He is not simply "in all" and "through all," but he is also "above all."

This conception of evolution is that of Lotze. That great philosopher, whose influence is more potent than any other in present thought, does not regard the universe as a *plenum* to which nothing can be added in the way of force. He looks upon the universe rather as a

¹ A paper read at the Baptist Congress, Buffalo, November 15, 1898.

plastic organism to which new impulses can be imparted from him of whose thought and will it is an expression. These impulses, once imparted, abide in the organism and are thereafter subject to its law. Though these impulses come from within, they come not from the finite mechanism, but from the immanent God. Robert Browning's phrase, "All's love, but all's law," must be interpreted as meaning that the very movements of the planets and all the operations of nature are revelations of a personal and present God, but it must not be interpreted as meaning that God runs in a rut, that he is confined to mechanism, that he is incapable of unique and startling manifestations of power.

The idea that gives to evolution its hold upon thinking minds is the idea of continuity. But absolute continuity is inconsistent with progress. If the future is not simply a reproduction of the past, there must be some new cause of change. In order to progress there must be either a new force, or a new combination of forces, and the new combination of forces can be explained only by some new force that causes the combination. This new force, moreover, must be intelligent force, if the evolution is to be toward the better instead of toward the worse. The continuity must be continuity not of forces but of plan. The forces may increase, nay, they must increase, unless the new is to be a mere repetition of the old. There must be additional energy imparted, new combinations brought about, and all this implies purpose and will. But through all there runs one continuous plan, and upon this plan all the rationality of evolution depends.

A man builds a house. In laying the foundation he

uses stone and mortar, but he makes the walls of wood and the roof of tin. In the superstructure he brings into play different laws from those which apply to the foundation. There is continuity, not of material, but of plan. Progress from cellar to garret requires breaks here and there, and the bringing in of new forces; in fact, without the bringing in of these new forces the evolution of the house would be impossible. Now substitute for the foundation and the superstructure living things like the chrysalis and the butterfly; imagine the power to work from within and not from without; and you see that true continuity does not exclude but involves new beginnings.

Evolution, then, depends on increments of force *plus* continuity of plan. New creations are possible because the immanent God has not exhausted himself. Miracle is possible because God is not far away, but is at hand to do whatever the needs of his moral universe may require. Regeneration and answers to prayer are possible for the very reason that these are the objects for which the universe was built. Evolution, then, does not exclude Christianity. If we were deists, believing in a distant God and a mechanical universe, evolution and Christianity would be irreconcilable. But since we believe in a dynamical universe, of which the personal and living God is the inner source of energy, evolution is but the basis, foundation, and background of Christianity, the silent and regular working of him who, in the fullness of time, utters his voice in Christ and the cross.

I have explained evolution as theistic and not atheistic evolution. So I must explain Christianity as not

simply the story of the Gospels, but rather as the whole revelation of God in Christ. In a true sense, Christianity is as old as the creation. Indeed it antedates creation, for Christ is the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world. The historic sacrifice on Calvary is the focusing of light that was shining dimly in all the preceding ages. The revelation of God that culminated in the cross began in Eden. And Christ was the organ of this revelation. He is the Eternal Word, the only revealer of God. The preincarnate Logos, Christ before he took human flesh, was the Angel of the Covenant, the leader of the chosen people, the giver of the law on Sinai. The principle of his final sacrifice was already working, when in all the affliction of his people he was afflicted. He suffered for sin before he was born in Palestine.

It is this conception of the larger Christ that is revivifying modern theology. We are digging out the *debris* with which scholasticism and deism have half filled the wells of salvation, and are taking seriously the declarations of Paul and John when they assert that in Christ is all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, that he upholds all things by the word of his power, that all things consist or hold together in him, that he fills all things with all that they contain, that he is all in all. These wonderful utterances have passed over our heads without producing effect upon us. Now we perceive that Christ is the life of nature, and that all its quivering forces are the revelation of his omniscient mind and the energizing of his omnipotent will. Now we perceive that Christ is the life of humanity and that in him alone, the revealing God, we live and move and

have our being, so that he is the Light that lighteth every man, so that conscience even among the heathen is the echo of his voice, so that history, even when we call it secular, is the marshaling of the forces of him who goes forth conquering and to conquer. Now we perceive that Christ is the life of the church, and that he is actually present not only in every individual believer as the soul of his soul and the life of his life, but in the great universal organism of his sacramental host, preserving it from corruption, endowing it with his Spirit, and leading it on to its final triumph.

Think not that this larger conception of Christ will work harm to our common faith. It will only exalt our Redeemer and make it more clear that his is the only name given under heaven among men whereby we can be saved. If it is he who is King of the ages, the only God, the universal life, that became incarnate and suffered on the cross for us, then Christianity is the unique and only system of religion, and the condescension of the Highest in taking our form and nature and in becoming subject to death, even the death of the cross, becomes a motive to holiness unspeakably powerful and affecting.

In the light of these conceptions of evolution on the one hand and of Christianity on the other let us examine anew the doctrine of man's fall and of man's redemption. And the first question is, what is man? Evolution declares that he is the product of resident forces, the outgrowth of previous forms of life, the crown and culmination of a long course of palæontological history. Scripture declares him to be the creation of God. But if we have grasped the concep-

tion that these resident forces are only the manifestation of God's mind and will, then we can see that the biological solution does not exclude the theological. To all intents and purposes, these forces are God ; for the will of God is the only real force in nature. That this will of God works so regularly as to seem automatic, not only ought not to obscure for us its divine significance, but rather should be new proof to us of God's unchanging faithfulness. That man is the offspring of the brute creation does not prevent him from being also the offspring of God.

The fault of the development theory as held by many scientific men is that it attributes to mere matter, or force, or law, or evolution, conceived of as blind irrational agencies, what can in right reason be attributed only to purpose and will. Its advocates assume that matter is something impersonal and dead, and out of it they try to get a personal and living being called man. But matter is not impersonal and dead,—it is conceivable only as the energizing of an intelligent and personal will. Law and evolution are mere names for a method,—a glove which can do nothing without a hand inside of it. Man's advent upon the scene of life can never be explained by reference simply to that which existed before him. It was due to a new impulse of that divine energy which had been resident in all preceding forms indeed, but which now added to the process a new element from the unexhausted and infinite resources of its own nature.

That pre-existing forms were used as the basis of the new development does not prevent that development, so far as it is new, from being the creation of God. That

Christ used water in making wine at Cana does not warrant us in saying that the wine was simply a development from the water. That five loaves and two fishes were used in feeding the five thousand does not prove that Christ's will had nothing to do with the result. The dust from which the body of Adam was made was animate dust; lower forms of life were taken as the foundation upon which to build man's physical frame and man's rational powers; into some animal germ came the breath of a new intellectual and moral life. But the fact that existing material was used so far as it would go does not prevent God's authorship of the result,—it only shows that God in creating man acted in perfect harmony with his ways in other parts of his creation. The wine in the miracle was not water because it had come from water, nor is man a brute simply because he has come from the brute. Indeed, he has not come from the brute in any proper sense,—he has come from the creative hand of God. He is an emanation from that same divine life of which the brute creation was a lower manifestation.

We are now prepared to understand the reality and the method of man's fall. Evolution has been thought to be incompatible with any proper doctrine of a fall. It has been assumed by many that man's immoral course and conduct are simply survivals of his brute inheritance, inevitable remnants of his old animal propensities, yieldings of the weak will to fleshly appetites and passions. This is to deny that sin is truly sin, but it is also to deny that man is truly man. As Doctor Simon has well shown, the principle of evolution requires that when man emerges in the history of life

he should be not brute but man, with brute instincts under the control of reason, conscience, and will. Birds are outgrowths of reptilian life, but the reptile does not remain in the bird to drag it down and hinder its flight ; when birds appear, they are not reptiles, but birds. The law of evolution would require that when man appeared he should be, not brute, but man. Man is a creature of free-will, able to put beneath his feet the lower impulses and to live for holiness and for God. That man does not, like the bird, fulfill the end of his being and live in the upper air of purity and truth, but rather like the reptile buries himself in the slime of sin, is due to a self-perversion of his powers such as the bird knows nothing of. The long course of depravity and degradation that has been universal in human history points back to a fall of humanity, and this fall is no natural development, but rather a willful departure of the very first representatives of the race from God and from his law.

Sin must be referred to freedom or it is not sin. To explain it as the natural result of weak will overmastered by lower impulses is to make the animal nature, and not the will, the cause of transgression. And that is to say that man at the beginning is not man, but brute. Dr. E. G. Robinson once said that sin explained is sin defended. I might add that sin explained is sin denied. When you can find a good *reason* for sin you deny its *existence*, for the very essence of it is irrationality, the senseless and wicked self-perversion of a free personality. Yet just such an initial self-perversion of humanity is required upon scientific principles to account for the failure of man alone, of all the

orders of creation, to live according to the law of his being. Science recognizes reversion as well as progress, degeneration as well as development. The fish of the Mammoth Cave once had eyes, or at least their ancestors had. They fled from the light and they lost their sight. So man at the beginning willfully left the light of God and wandered into the darkness. He lost his eyes for holiness and truth, and he transmitted his spiritual blindness to his posterity.

The fall, then, was the revolt of the human will from God. Evolution not only cannot throw doubt upon the fact, but it requires the fact to explain man's subsequent history. The later modifications of Darwinism only confirm the scriptural account. Though Weismann denies the transmission of acquired characters, Wallace is probably far nearer the truth when he maintains that there is "always a *tendency* to transmit acquired characters, but that only those which affect the blood and nervous system, like drunkenness and syphilis, overcome the fixed habit of the organism and make themselves permanent." But why confine this transmission merely to physical acquisitions? Moral changes are more fundamental. The act of will by which man turned his back upon the life and love of God and set up an independent sovereignty in this universe was an act which not only changed his moral environment but deprived him of all moral sustenance. Here is cause for atrophy, corruption, death. Here is a change which affects the very roots of being. As regeneration is the new creation of man's moral nature by God, so the fall was man's own creation of an evil nature by self-will and disobedience. It was the most tremendous

act of independent volition ever put forth by man. It revolutionized his being. It changed the direction of the deepest springs of life. The changed nature was transmitted, for there was no other nature to transmit. Evolution became the evolution of a dwarfed and degraded humanity, or in other words evolution became degradation.

So much with regard to evolution and man's fall. Let me now speak of evolution and man's redemption. And here I must remind you once more of the original and natural relation of the race to Christ. It is in him that the race was created, and he was from the very beginning the constant source of its physical and moral life. When man broke away from moral control and in his moral life became self-centered and independent, he did not, simply because he could not, break away from his natural connection with the indwelling Christ, in whom he lived and moved and had his being. Man can scoff at his Saviour, but he cannot do without him, simply because that Saviour is the source of his life, and doing without him is annihilation. If you could imagine a finger endowed with free-will and trying to sunder its connection with the body by tying a string around itself, you would have a picture of man trying to sunder his connection with Christ. What is the result of such an attempt? Why, pain, decay; possible, nay, incipient death, to the finger. By what law? By the law of the organism, which is so constituted as to maintain itself against its own disruption by the revolt of the members. The pain and death of the finger is the reaction of the whole against the treason of the part. The finger suffers pain. But are there no results

of pain to the body? Does not the body feel pain also? How plain it is that no such pain can be confined to the single part! The heart feels, aye, the whole organism feels, because all the parts are members one of another. It not only suffers, but that suffering tends to remedy the evil and to remove its cause. The whole body summons its forces, pours new tides of life into the dying member, strives to rid the finger of the ligature that binds it. So, through all the course of history, from the moment of the first sin, Christ, the natural life of the race, has been afflicted in the affliction of humanity and has suffered for human sin. The whole creation that groaneth and travaileth in pain together expresses the struggling of Christ with moral evil, for matter cannot groan, nor can the irrational universe feel. And the groanings of the believer in his prayers for the lost are the expression in man's finite nature of the infinite sorrow of the Holy Spirit, who is himself the Spirit of Christ.

This suffering has been an atoning suffering, since it has been due to righteousness. If God had not been holy, if God had not made all nature express the holiness of his being, if God had not made pain and loss the necessary consequences of sin, then Christ would not have suffered. But since these things are sin's penalty and Christ is the life of the sinful race, it must needs be that Christ should suffer. There is nothing arbitrary in the laying upon him of the iniquities of us all. There is an original grace as well as an original sin. The fact that Christ is our life makes it inevitable that we should derive from him many an impulse and influence that does not belong to our sinful nature. The

heart sends its blood into the decaying member, if perchance it may yet be restored. So there are a thousand currents of moral life, flowing into the lives of men, which come from Christ the life of humanity. The virtues of the unregenerate upon which they pride themselves are due not to themselves but to his grace. The light of conscience, of tradition, of parental training, of social ethics, of civilization in general, all proceeds from Christ. No man ever thinks truly, feels rightly, acts nobly, except as Christ works in him. There is no such thing as independent human action, except in the case of sin. It is Christ who works all our good works in us. While it takes only one to do evil, it takes two to do good. This is true everywhere. Christ, the Light of the World, is shining in all lands, among the heathen as well as in Christendom, leading individuals here and there to see their sins and to cast themselves upon God for pardon, and preparing communities and nations to receive the published message of salvation. Yet everywhere and always it is his power and grace, and no works or worthiness of man, that regenerate, justify, and save.

That this spiritual life of the race should be summed up in the historical Christ and should find in him its channel of manifestation and communication to the world is not only in perfect accordance with the method of evolution, but is absolutely required by it. The tendency of all biological inquiry is to trace life in each of its departments back to a single germ. All the human inhabitants of the globe derive their life from a single human ancestor—a fact *a priori* difficult to predict, and, considering the immense number of so-called chance

variations which had at favorable times to be taken advantage of, *a priori* almost incredible. Yet the sudden appearance of man, with powers immensely transcending those of the brute, and with a progeny reproducing those same powers, is a fact of biological history. Now if it is consistent with evolution that the physical and natural life of the race should be derived from a single source, then it is equally consistent with evolution that the moral and spiritual life of the race should also be derived from a single source. Scripture is stating only scientific fact when it sets the second Adam, the head of redeemed humanity, over against the first Adam, the head of fallen humanity. We are told that evolution should give us many Christs. We reply that evolution has not given us many Adams. Evolution, as it assigns to the natural head of the race a supreme and unique position, must be consistent with itself, and must assign a supreme and unique position to Jesus Christ, the spiritual head of the race. As there was but one Adam from whom all the natural life of the race was derived, so there can be but one Christ from whom all the spiritual life of the race is derived.

I would pursue this analogy yet further, and would find in the relation of the first Adam to the previous physical life of the world, a type of the relation of the second Adam to the previous spiritual life of the world. The whole process of evolution which preceded man's appearance upon this planet was the manifestation of an intelligence and a will struggling upward through lower forms toward rationality and freedom. To put it in more theological phrase, the preincarnate Logos was exhibiting the divine wisdom and power in successive

approximations toward humanity. Psychical man was the result,—a being with spiritual powers, but with these powers as yet unexercised and untried. “That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual.” The spiritual was only potential, and it was lost by the exercise of man’s power of contrary choice. What might have been an upward evolution and a continual progress in likeness to God became a downward evolution and a continual progress in evil. But now began a new manifestation of the life of Christ. The same immanent Logos whose operation had thus far culminated in rational man now instituted a long process for the evolution of spiritual man. The history of the race became a preparation for the coming of the second Adam, as the history of life before man’s appearance had been a preparation for the coming of the first Adam. Out of a prepared nation Christ emerged, as out of the highest forms of pre-existing life Adam had emerged.

Do you say that the virgin birth of Christ makes his origin unique? I reply that the first advent of man is no less unique. The miraculous conception to which we must hold if we would maintain either the purity of Mary his mother or his own freedom from hereditary taint, was the work of the Spirit of God, no more and no less than the bringing of a free human intelligence out of a race of apelike progenitors was a work of the Spirit of God. In both cases the result was one to which the life of the planet had been tending. In both it was the culmination of an age-long process of development. In both it was the goal to which the immanent Christ had been conducting the evolution of the

world. The new science recognizes more than one method of propagation even in one and the same species, and it is no wonder that in the introduction of him who was the crown and summit of the whole system we should see a return to the original method of parthenogenesis.

As the historical Christ was the manifestation of Him who had been ever working as the revealer of God in human history, so the cross of Christ was the historical manifestation and proclamation of the age-long *suffering* of the Son of God. It was the concrete exhibition of the holiness that required, and of the love that provided, man's redemption. Those six hours of pain could never have procured our salvation if they had not been a revelation of eternal facts in the being of God. The heart of God and the meaning of all previous history were then unveiled. The whole evolution of humanity was there depicted in its essential elements, on the one hand the sin and condemnation of the race, on the other hand the grace and suffering of him who was its life and salvation. As he who hung upon the cross was God, manifest in the flesh, so the suffering of the cross was God's suffering for sin, manifest in the flesh.

The evolution of humanity since the first sin has been a constant revelation of the righteous judgment of God. The natural law which inflicts disease and pain and death upon the sinner and upon his posterity after him is only the biological expression of God's judicial sentence upon iniquity. In the natural course of evolution punishment follows sin, as the cartwheel follows the ox. And this would be the end of it if individualism were the whole truth. Mere individualism brings only suffer-

ing and death. But there is a deeper truth than mere individualism, and I now bring this truth to the elucidation of the doctrine of atonement as I previously brought it to elucidate the fall. Once more I remind you that Jesus Christ, the revealer of God, is the life of the race. If he is one with the race, then our sufferings and sorrows become his; he takes upon him our guilt and responsibility; God's judgment upon our transgression falls upon him. Since we are by nature joined to him and the tides of his natural life flow into us, he who is the life of the race cannot separate himself from us even in our condemnation and death.

The atonement of Christ seems foolishness to the so-called philosopher only because he regards it as an external, arbitrary, mechanical transfer of guilt and penalty. Guilt and penalty, he says, are individual and personal, and cannot be thus transferred. There is no justice, he says, in punishing one for the sins of another, and especially in punishing the innocent for the sins of the guilty. But Christ's atonement rests upon a fact of life, which he has not taken account of. We are not simply individuals. We have community with one another, and with Him who created us. More pertinently still, he has community with us, and nothing that belongs to us is foreign to him. He has not committed our sin, but he is so connected with us that he must share the burdens and the sufferings, the shame and the penalty, which sin brings upon us. Not late in human history did he vicariously take our sins upon him, but from the very instant of the fall. The imputation of our sins to him is the result of his natural union with us. Because he is one with us he has been

our substitute from the beginning,—indeed, so inseparable are his fortunes from ours that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews can say that through the eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot to God.

So a view of the larger Christ enables us to see that the atonement is the very wisdom of God. Christ is not simply the being who lived three and thirty years in Palestine, and his atonement is not simply a six hours' suffering upon the cross. Christ is the upholder of the universe, the life and light of man. His cross is but the concentration and summing up of the work of centuries. Can we quarrel with the doctrine of substitution, when we see that this substitution is but the sharing of our griefs and sorrows by him whose very life pulsates in our veins? Can we object to being saved by another, when we find that he is not another, but one vitally connected with us? It is only our false individualism that prevents us from seeing the wisdom of God in the atonement, and that false individualism is the result of sin. Christ's cross breaks down that self-isolation, and brings us again into sympathy and union with our Saviour, and so with all mankind.

This suffering for sin which Christ endured is the suffering of penal inflictions in our stead, for all suffering is penal in the sense that its existence is due to sin, and that it is the expression of God's moral revulsion from iniquity, the revelation of his self-vindicating holiness. Do you say that Christ was personally pure, and therefore could not suffer penalty? I answer, that precisely because he *was* personally pure, he could suffer penalty. The frozen limb cannot feel, just because it is frozen. When it begins to thaw, and life courses

through its veins, then there is pain. Christ was the only live and healthy member of a dead humanity. He was the heart from which humanity drew its life-blood. He could suffer for sin, as we who are dead in trespasses and sins could not. But the sorrows of the heart brought life to the members. Christ has delivered us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us. In him we are reconciled to God. He can bring us to God, because he is himself God, the incarnate, atoning, indwelling God. He is the principle of evolution, the upholder and conductor of the world-process, and the culmination and goal of that evolutionary process is the bringing back of humanity in him to God.

FIFTY YEARS OF THEOLOGY¹

THIS occasion is a memorable one. We celebrate the completion of a half-century of service. To be a teacher for fifty years; to be a teacher of Christian doctrine; to be a teacher of the teachers of Christian doctrine; and so to teach as to form and guide the public opinion of thousands of churches, to dissuade them from unscriptural extremes, to preserve their denominational unity, to keep them true to their ancient faith and true to Christ, their Lawgiver and Lord—this is a great gift of God to any man, and it is this great gift of God which we recognize to-night.

It is impossible to sever official from personal influence. President Hovey's public work is inseparable from his mental traits and his private character. It is his accuracy and insight, his calmness and candor, his just judgment and Christian spirit, that have made him revered as an instructor, trusted as a counselor, and beloved as a friend. The institution of which he has been so many years the head has had many illustrious names on its roll of professors, but it is he, more than any other, that has given it its fame. In popular esteem Newton and he are identified, and in this case we are confident that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

¹ An Address at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Doctor Hovey's connection with Newton Theological Institution as professor, June 7, 1899.

Doctor Hovey is identified not only with Newton, but with his time. The period during which he has lived and done his work has influenced him as he has influenced it. His spirit and the spirit of the age have been alike eirenical. While he has contended earnestly for essential truth, his methods have not been polemic. He has spoken the truth in love ; he has followed after things that make for peace. I read that

Fifty years after the death of Melancthon, Leonhard Hutter, his successor in the chair of Theology at Wittenberg, on an occasion when the authority of Melancthon was appealed to, tore down from the wall the portrait of the great Reformer, and in the presence of the assemblage trampled it under foot.

This fury of controversy now seems barbaric and ludicrous. We have learned that he who is not against us is for us. We emphasize the things we hold in common more than the things in which we differ. The theological war drums throb no longer, and he whom we honor to-night has done his full share in quieting them. If any of our modern saints are to inherit the title of Thomas Aquinas let it be he, and let us call him our "Doctor Angelicus."

With this change in spirit there has come also a change in the apprehension of Christian truth. We recognize elements of good in systems with which on the whole we differ. We absorb the new instead of throwing it out. We hold fast all that which is good, while we are ready to grant that there are more things in heaven and earth than have yet been dreamed of in our philosophy. One of the best qualities of our respected leader is his open-mindedness, his hospitality

to new ideas, his willingness to modify his views with the new light which comes to him from science and exegesis. While he holds stoutly to the faith once for all delivered to the saints, he believes that our statements of doctrine not only may improve, but ought to improve, with the process of the suns.

Here too, he represents his age. It is an age that holds to the possibility and the duty of progress in religious thought. When Wordsworth, in his sublime "Ode to Duty," wrote

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are firm and strong,

he did not doubt that astronomy was capable of improvement. The laws of nature do not change, but man's knowledge of them certainly advances. The nature of God and the nature of man are the same that they were when Paul wrote his Epistles, but our understanding of Paul, and so our understanding of God and of man, is more complete than that of our fathers was. Theology is a science, and like all other sciences it reflects the present attainment of the human mind. It is never complete or finished; it is not to-day precisely what it was yesterday, nor can we prevent its progress in the future any more than we can sweep back the tides with a broom.

Our honored father and friend will not then regard it as incongruous with this semi-centennial occasion if I take for my subject: FIFTY YEARS OF THEOLOGY. As I attempt to describe the changes and improvements which these last fifty years have wrought, he will be able to say at every step: *Quorum magna pars fui.*

I shall have occasion to note in this last half-century some lapses from the truth as well as some enlarged apprehensions of it. But for these lapses it will be very plain that Doctor Hovey is not responsible. Let me first, however, try to indicate where theology was when he began to teach. A rapid survey of the preceding doctrinal development will prepare us better to appreciate what has been done in our own time.

The history of theology, like all other history, is the progressive summing up of all things in Christ. For he is the center of all, and without him no philosophy of history is possible. Schopenhauer had no Christ, and so admitted no philosophy of history,—to him history was the mere fortuitous play of individual caprice. A critic stood before one of Turner's pictures. It seemed all mist and cloud—hazy, formless, and incomprehensible. As the critic was about to turn away perplexed and discomfited, Turner himself stepped forward, and with his brush added a single dot of scarlet to the picture. That brought all the other parts into proper relation to one another, suggested the proper point of view, made the whole work intelligible. So Christ's coming and Christ's blood make history intelligible. He through whom and unto whom all things were created carries in his girdle the key to all the mysteries of the world. Only the Lamb that was slain can execute and so make known the decrees of God, because only he can prevail to open the book of God's decrees and to loose the seals thereof.

It is sometimes said that Christianity is in debt to modern science. It is far more true that modern science is in debt to Christianity. The guiding thought

of modern science is that of unity. This sense of unity Christ virtually gave to man when he died for him upon the cross. The feeling of personality existed indeed before, but it was weak ; and since the idea of unity is derived from no other source than our own self-consciousness, man could not see unity outside of him until he saw himself as a single person. When he realized that the Son of God had given up all to save him, he could no longer regard himself as a mere congeries of impressions or as the mere victim of circumstance. There arose within him the ineradicable conviction of the singleness, the dignity, and the worth of his own being. Christ's cry from the cross, "It is finished!" was a trumpet call to the human will to believe in its unity and to assert its freedom. Just as men before Christ suspected that death did not end all, and hoped for a life beyond the grave, but reached assurance only when Christ by his resurrection from the dead brought life and immortality to light, so before Christ the belief in personality was weak, and even philosophers like Plato and Aristotle saw no clear dividing line between man and nature ; but since Christ died and rose again belief in the unity of the soul, its immeasurable superiority to nature, its infinite worth, and its immortal destiny, has become an unwavering conviction, no longer shrouded in obscurity but standing forth in the clear daylight of recognized reality.

With belief in the unity of man's being came belief in the unity of God. No longer could men rid themselves of the notion of responsibility to one moral Law-giver and Judge by dividing up his manifestations and attributing them to separate wills. Milton well repre-

sents the birth of Jesus as signaling the downfall of polytheism :

Peor and Baalim
Forsake their temples dim .
Nor all the gods beside
Longer dare abide,

when once the God of gods and Lord of lords has come. But while it has been noted that Christ's coming gave final and convincing proof of the unity of God, it has not been noted that his coming was also the first demonstration of the unity of nature. Humboldt, in his "Cosmos," points out that the unity and creative agency of the heavenly Father have given unity to the order of nature, and so have furnished the modern impulse to physical science. But let us recognize the equally important fact that this is the work of Christ. It is only he who has revealed the unity and creative agency of the heavenly Father, only he who has shown heaven and earth to be one, and so only he has made it possible to speak of a "universe."

The unity of the soul, the unity of God, the unity of nature,—these three are discoveries of Christ. They had no scientific precision, they had no universal acceptance, before his advent. As logical implications of his teaching, his work, his divinity, they have gradually taken possession of the world. But still the soul, nature, and God have been kept apart from each other, and have been regarded at times as mutually independent. An instance of this is found in the philosophy of fifty years ago. Subjective idealism invaded our schools of learning. It despised the external world, and regarded the body as having no essential part or

lot in man's being. And a yet more marked illustration is found in the theology of our fathers. Deism had unconsciously infected it, and many Christian thinkers had come to look on the universe as a house built indeed by God, but from which the Builder had shut himself out, locking the door behind him, and then tying his own hands so that he could not even use the key.

The last half-century of theology has been, in its innermost substance and meaning, a profound reaction against deism. It has been a practical rediscovery of God in the universe and in the soul. I am proposing to describe this movement of our time by indicating in order some of the elements which compose it. And the first which I shall notice is the great truth of the immanence of God. We differ from our fathers by interpreting nature not mechanically but dynamically. To us her symbol is no longer that of Paley's watch, but that of Darwin's flower. God does not create a universe which goes of itself without his presence or control, but the universe is full of his life and is the constant expression of his mind and will.

We speak of the book of nature; but nature is not so much a book as a voice, or, to use Bishop Berkeley's noble words, "God's ceaseless conversation with his creatures." The Scriptures do not content themselves with past tenses; the heavens declare the glory of God and the God of glory thundereth,—nature, in other words, is the manifestation of a present God. Herschell said that the force of gravitation seems like that of a universal will. We may go further and say that it not only seems like will, but that it is will. And this is

only Augustine's doctrine : *Dei voluntas est rerum natura*. What we call nature's laws are nothing but God's generic volitions, his regular, and, as it were, automatic activities,—no less free because they are regular and no less regular because they are free.

Even within the last twenty-five years there has been a notable change in the spirit and temper of scientific men, and this change has inured to the benefit of theology. Just a quarter of a century ago John Tyndall, in his opening address as President of the British Association at Belfast, declared that in matter was to be found the promise and potency of every form of life. But only last year Sir William Crookes, in his address at Birmingham as President of that same British Association, reversed the apothegm and declared that in life he saw the promise and potency of every form of matter. The days of materialism indeed are numbered. The old materialism has given place to materialistic idealism, and that in turn to a conception of matter so ethereal that it can no longer be distinguished from spirit. Martineau has well said that matter, as scientific men of late describe it, "but for the spelling of its name, does not seem to differ appreciably from our old friends, Mind and God." More and more it is seen that nature is the constant manifestation of an infinite intelligence and life, and that this intelligence and life can be none other than those of the immanent God.

Our generation is coming to recognize God's immanence in the soul, as well as in nature. As nature is throbbing with life because God is in the molecular as well as in the molar masses of the universe, so humanity is throbbing with life because humanity lives, moves,

and has its being in God. The germs of this conception are found in all great Christian thinkers. How impossible it is to regard Augustine as ignorant of the immanent God when we hear him crying: "I could not be, O my God, could not be at all, wert thou not in me; rather, were not I in thee, of whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are all things." Here is a natural union with God which is irrespective of human choice, and which is antecedent to the moral and spiritual union which is mediated by faith and of which Augustine speaks in that other more familiar utterance: "O God, thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it find rest in thee." Luther's friends wrote despairingly of the negotiations connected with the Diet of Worms. But the great Reformer wrote back from Coburg that he had been looking up at the night sky, spangled and studded with stars. He had found no pillars to hold them up, yet they did not fall. God needed no props for his planets and suns, but hung them upon nothing. So Luther concluded that the unseen is prop enough for the seen, and that behind all the decisions of men are the will and power and life of God.

The theology of fifty years ago did not so much deny God's immanence as it forgot God's immanence. It emphasized the other side of the truth and let this side go by default. It was individualistic and ignored the fact of solidarity. Similarly we think of the continents and islands of our globe as disjoined from one another. The dissociable sea is regarded as an absolute barrier between them. But if the ocean could be dried, we should see that all the while there had been sub-

marine connections, and the hidden unity of all lands would appear. So the individuality of human beings, real as it is, is not the only reality. There is a profounder fact of common life. Even the great mountain-peaks of personality are superficial distinctions, compared with the organic oneness in which they are rooted, into which they all dip down, and from which, like volcanoes, they receive at times quick and overflowing impulses of insight, emotion, and energy.

I have said that our half-century has, first of all, re-discovered the immanent God. Now, secondly, I would say it has discovered that this immanent God is Christ. We have become familiar with the phrase, "the larger Christ." I wish to avail myself of the phrase without adopting any of the doctrinal connotations which have so often accompanied it. I wish simply to point out that our later theology has, as never before since the times of the apostles, identified the Christ of the incarnation with the Logos of God, through whom and unto whom all things were made and in whom all things consist. A recent writer has said that Christ is "the frankness of God." But this is only a faint echo of the Scripture: "No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Modern theology sees in Christ not merely the Man of sorrows who lived and died and rose again in Palestine, but also the one and only principle of divine expression, the one outgoing and revealing agency in the nature of God. In other words, while the transcendent and unknowable God is the Father, the immanent and revealed God is Christ.

We owe to what has been called "the new theology" in this country, in spite of its wrong applications of the principle, a conception of Christ's larger relations, to which both the main divisions of recent German theology are strangers. And as a valuable side-light is thrown upon our subject from across the sea, let me briefly refer to the views of Christ held by Ritschl and by Pfeiderer respectively, the two leaders of German theological thought,—the one living and the other dead. Pfeiderer bases his theology upon the philosophy of Hegel. Like Strauss and Baur, Beidermann and Lipsius, he emphasizes the ideal Christ; he declares that historical facts cannot be the ground of faith; he denies miracle; his Christ is a phantom in the air; only the conception of a perfect humanity is needful to save. While Pfeiderer emphasizes the ideal Christ, Ritschl emphasizes the historical Christ. But this historical Christ is *only* historical. As Matthew Arnold said, so Ritschl might say of Christ :

Now he is dead ! Far hence he lies
In the lorn Syrian town ;
And on his grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.

A dead Christ, and a Christ far away; a Christ who influences us by his remembered teachings and example, just as other great men of the past rule us from their urns—this is the historical Christ whom Ritschl presents for our acceptance. Between the historical Christ of Ritschl and the ideal Christ of Pfeiderer there is not much to choose, for they both ignore the living Christ who is present in every believer.

How far beyond all this is the conception of our later English and American theology! This adoringly acknowledges that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever; that he is with his people always even unto the end of the world; that he is in them, the hope of glory and the power of an endless life. It recognizes in him the eternal Word, who not only was before Abraham, but in the beginning was with God and was God, the personal object of the Father's love before the foundation of the world. He was the pillar of cloud that led Israel through the sea; his voice thundered forth the law on Mt. Sinai; he was the spiritual rock that followed his people in the desert. There was a pre-incarnate activity of Christ even among the heathen; nowhere did he leave himself without a witness; he is the Light that lighteth every man. And even now, in history, art, science, literature, the seeing eye can discern the inner movement of the omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent Christ, bringing life and order out of warring and dead humanity even as at the beginning his creative Spirit brooded upon chaos and brought forth forms of life and beauty.

I can only hint in passing at the immense practical advantage of this revived New Testament doctrine, that Christ is the immanent God. The suffering of the cross has new meaning when we realize that the life that was there poured forth for our salvation was the same Life that ebbs and flows in mighty tides on the far shores of the universe; and the power of Christ to save the individual sinner and to accomplish the world's redemption is newly apprehended when we see that he who sends forth laborers to the harvest is the same

Being whose will is the inmost force of nature and of history.

But I must hasten to add to these two truths, that God is immanent and that this immanent God is Christ, a third truth which the theology of our half-century has rescued from neglect, this namely, that Christ's method is the method of evolution. Evolution has ceased to have terrors for us since it has been seen to be not an agent but a method, and to be the method of the immanent Christ. As gravitation, or God's rule in space, yielded up its sceptre to Christ, so evolution, or God's rule in time, has yielded up its sceptre also to him. The passion for reality which inspires our generation is no longer content with legal fictions and arbitrary interventions and phenomenal manifestations. It wants consistency and law, at the same time that it has personality and freedom. All this it has when it recognizes the method of the immanent Christ to be the method of growth, the starting from the lowest round of the ladder in order to reach the highest, the beginning with a mere germ, but a germ capable of endless unfolding. Evolution does not exclude design when we once see in it the method by which the Son of God has been imparting his own life and so manifesting the Father.

Law is only the method of freedom, the regular operation of personal life. It not only does not imply necessity, but it implies its opposite. I may choose to do a thing repeatedly, but my choice so to do is no less free. Kant well compared the liberty of determinism to the liberty of a turn-spit which revolves of itself only when it is wound up. But if every operation of nature

is due to a supernatural Will, there is no longer any lack of power to work miracle or to push forward the history of life. Not natural law in the spiritual world, but spiritual law in the natural world, is true formula. And so the long struggle between science and faith is ended,—they are but opposite sides or aspects of the same thing. To use the words of Beidermann: “Everything is miracle,—therefore faith sees God everywhere; nothing is miracle,—therefore science sees God nowhere.”

It is possible to interpret the universe in terms of naturalism, because science looks only at events and their sequences. But it is also not only possible but necessary to interpret the universe in terms of spiritualism, because faith sees in each event and sequence the manifestation of an all-wise mind and an all-powerful will. And this all-wise mind and this all-powerful will are the mind and will of Christ. Evolution is only his going forth from everlasting. Creation is simply the differentiation of his energy and its transformation into force. We no longer look upon the successive species as products of a fiat from without,—we regard them as results of an operation from within. Man himself is developed from lower forms of life, but the lower forms do not produce the higher or in any way account for the man who caps the climax of them all. Both the lower and the higher derive their being from Christ, and animal forms are only Christ's preparation for the man who succeeds them. Man has come, not from blind and dead matter, but from the immanent Christ whose life pulsates through the universe and who has reinforced that life from his own infinite fountain.

I now come to a fourth characteristic of our modern theology,—its recognition that evolution is predominantly ethical. By this I mean that the world is not simply a lost world given over to the evil one, but that moral forces are at work in it, and the immanent Christ is progressively transforming it. Even prehistoric and palæontological life presents dim foreshadowings of the moral truths that emerge in the life of man and that reach their full manifestation in the drama of redemption. As Doctor Harris, of Andover, has so nobly shown, the struggle for existence is not simply a selfish and internecine warfare,—it is each creature's standing for its rights. Self-preservation in the animal creation is an adumbration of that principle in man which leads him to maintain his integrity and to vindicate his freedom. Without the perception of rights there would be no perception of duties, and Christ prepares for the ethical career of humanity by giving even to the beast below him the instinct to defend itself and to guard its own.

As there is an evolutionary preparation for righteousness, so there is an evolutionary preparation for love. Henry Drummond's best teaching was this. In the impulse of reproduction and in the care for offspring there is already an incipient altruism. The tigress that suckles her young and the eagle that starves herself to give her eaglets food show a self-sacrifice which in its higher and human developments becomes truly ethical. And why should we stop with the animal creation? Is there not a generosity which belongs to many ungodly men? Is there not a conjugal and paternal and filial affection which cannot be credited to fallen human

nature, but which must have a divine origin? Let us not attribute these things to man, but rather to the Christ of God, whose original grace is counteracting the effects of original sin, and who is thus preparing the way for the publication and reception of his finished redemption.

Mr. Kidd has brought out most vividly the fact that there is a social evolution which works upward in spite of the downward direction of the individual will. I recognize in this social evolution the operation of the immanent and omnipresent Christ, whose method is the method of law and of growth, and whose movements have their material and natural as well as their supernatural and spiritual aspect. It is not true that this world is merely a City of Destruction, as John Bunyan and the theology of fifty years ago painted it,—a City of Destruction from which Christ has departed and from which we are only to flee. No, the Lord is here, and we may enjoy his presence along our Christian pilgrimage without waiting, as the pilgrim did, until we reach the shining streets of the New Jerusalem. Even now Christ is leavening society with his Spirit, and we are to better the world instead of leaving it. The governments and institutions of our time are slowly but surely becoming moral, not because of any atheistic law of progress or because of any inherent tendency of things, but because the immanent Christ impresses his own ethical character upon the whole evolutionary process.

There is a fifth truth to which the last half-century has attained,—a truth more important than all that have preceded, simply because it includes them all. It is this: The ethical meaning of the universe is summed

up in the historical Jesus. It has been sometimes said that Christianity is the crown of the evolution of the whole universe. But this does not express the whole truth. Christianity is nothing but Christ, and Christ is not simply the crown of evolution; he is the animating spirit of it, the inner force that moves all its wheels, the mind and heart and will that expresses itself in all its processes; and when he becomes incarnate, and teaches, suffers, dies, all the rays of previous divine impartation throughout the universe come to their focus. The historical Jesus is not only God manifest in the flesh, in whom is all the fullness of the Godhead in bodily form and manifestation, but he is also the gathering up and disclosure of all the ethical meaning of the creation. In other words, Jesus is the immanent Christ of evolution, coming out like a painter from behind his own picture and interpreting to us his own work.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is declared that the Mosaic tabernacle and its sacrifices were only the shadows of the heavenly, and that Moses made the earthly after the pattern of those that were shown him in the mount. The whole historical life and work of Jesus were in like manner the temporal and finite shadowing forth of eternal and infinite realities. His own human growth in wisdom and knowledge and in favor with God and men is but the mirror which reflects in miniature the process of evolution by which the universe has come to be what it is, and by which the larger Christ has progressively revealed the transcendent God. But specially is the historical Jesus the moral and spiritual fullness of the Godhead. "He that hath seen me," our Lord can say, "hath seen the Father,"

—the Father's righteousness and the Father's love. His cross is a window into heaven, through which we can discern the purpose of all existence, and we can understand the whole creation that groaneth and travaileth in pain together only when we see the same heart that animates it breaking in agony on Calvary.

The cross is the revelation of God's eternal suffering for sin. To this great conclusion the theology of the last fifty years has been leading us. In the boyhood of some of us, New England theology explained the atonement by the necessities of government. Nathaniel W. Taylor's system of theology was entitled "Moral Government," and Charles G. Finney's treatise on moral government was entitled "Systematic Theology." Both of these theologians maintained that Christ suffered to demonstrate God's regard for his law. But why God should have such regard for his law was not entirely clear, for law was conceived of as something arbitrary and external instead of being the necessary expression of his holiness, an expedient for the happiness of his creatures instead of being the transcript of his own moral nature. The result has been that law, having no proper foundation in God's being, has lost its significance, and the very conception of government has dropped out of New England theology.

The idea of moral influence took the place of moral government. But the influence was not moral, because the morality was utilitarian, and happiness instead of righteousness was regarded as the end of creation. The word righteousness indeed has of late years been falling into desuetude as the word government did before it, and schemes of the atonement have been devised in

which its whole purpose has been represented to be a subjective change in man, while the necessity of any atonement to the divine holiness has been either ignored or denied. It is interesting to find such men as Pfeiderer declaring these schemes to be direct contradictions of the doctrine of the New Testament, where the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of Christ as through the eternal Spirit offering himself without spot to God, and where the Epistle to the Romans represents him as being set forth to be a propitiation through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, that he might be just, while he justifies the believer. While other scriptures assure us that love provides the atonement, these passages make it equally plain that the atonement is made to righteousness, and that it is righteousness that requires it.

I regard the last half-century as having led the way, by the new discoveries of Christ's world-relations and by the demonstrated insufficiency of all mediating theories, to a larger and profounder conception of that redeeming work of which the whole universe is but the theatre and the illustration. And so I suggest, as the sixth truth to which theology has been gravitating, the supremacy of righteousness in the nature of God. The ethics of the cross is the ethics of the universe, and the cross and the universe alike declare that not love but righteousness is the fundamental attribute of God. Bishop Butler, in his "Analogy," wrote long ago as follows: "Perhaps divine goodness, with which, if I mistake not, we make very free in our speculations, may not be a bare single disposition to produce happiness so much as a disposition to make the good, the faithful, the honest happy." If it be replied that even this righteousness is

a form of love,—God's love for himself,—it still remains to be considered that this self-love, which is righteousness, conditions all other love, and that God cannot make the universe happy except by first making it holy. The immanent Christ is a suffering God. Love for his sinning creatures makes possible his suffering. But only his holiness makes that suffering necessary. If God were not supremely righteous, even love's sharing of the sinner's life and the sinner's lot would involve no suffering and no atonement.

No *quia voluit* then can explain God's suffering for human sin. It is a fact of life and a revelation of the fundamental attribute of his nature. God cannot be God unless he is righteous and maintains that righteousness intact, for righteousness, though it is not a utilitarian self-love, is God's instinct of self-respect and self-preservation. When sin assails this attribute it assails God himself. The immanent God suffers, and must suffer, so long as there is sin. The reproaches of those that reproach God fall upon Christ, whose life is the inmost principle of their being. He suffers because of his holiness what they because of their unholiness cannot suffer. His suffering takes the place of theirs and becomes remedial. For those who appreciate and accept it, this sharing of their guilt and penalty becomes a veritable substitution. The believer sees that Christ has done for him what he could never do for himself, that the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all, that by his stripes we are healed. But even to those who do not understand its meaning, Christ's sacrifice brings blessing. Because his suffering vindicates God's righteousness, the whole race can live under a

dispensation of grace. So the atonement is an ethical fact of universal significance. While the cross is the manifestation of suffering love, it reveals the holiness of God as the reason why that suffering must be endured.

There are evidences of a return to this Pauline doctrine in D. W. Simon's acknowledgment that God as well as man needs to be reconciled, and in J. M. Whiton's concession that atonement is made to the immanent God in conscience. But when it is maintained that only conscience is propitiated, John's declaration is forgotten: "If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart and knoweth all things." We are made in the image of God, and that which is highest in us best shows us what God is. The subjective demand of conscience for reparation is only the reflection of the objective righteousness of God which requires satisfaction if the sinner is to be saved. The immanent God who reveals discloses to us the nature of the transcendent God who is revealed. And as the conscience of man in the progress of the centuries becomes increasingly sensitive, it becomes more and more evident that holiness is not only an independent attribute, but is the supreme attribute in the divine nature. As conscience is supreme in the moral constitution of man, so holiness is supreme in the moral constitution of God. As I am bound to love my neighbor only as myself, so God makes regard for his own purity and honor the standard by which all outgoing of affection for his creatures is to be tried and limited. Even love must put itself under the control of righteousness. Only as God is true to himself will he have anything to

give to others. The atonement was necessary in order that God "might be just," and not only death and hell, but also the cross, declares that "righteousness and judgment are the foundation of his throne."

I can but believe that a new conviction of the ethical import of Christianity is taking possession of the church. I believe also that this is a reflection of the ethical element in the atonement of Christ. The apprehension of natural law and of its fixity has helped the apprehension of the solemnities of moral law. Heredity is but original sin in a new guise. Sociology declares the solidarity of the race. And even monism in its Christian form furnishes a basis for the inculcation of brotherhood and of obligation. The new sense of community which has made us feel the sorrows of Armenians and of Cubans and of Filipinos as if they were our own is the fruit of Christ's cross and its demonstration that humanity is worth saving because it has kinship with the divine. He who is made priest, not according to the law of a carnal commandment but according to the power of an endless life, is the mighty prophet also, and he has taken our humanity into an eternal school. We are dull pupils, and it will take the great Teacher many generations before he can fully convince us that we are the offspring of God and are therefore of one blood with the Hottentot and the outcast, the grimy factory-worker and the child in the slums. But the cross has emancipated woman and the slave; it will yet do away with war and subdue the greed of capital; it will reform municipal and national politics and give us a righteous State. For all these things are corollaries of the one great truth that the suffering Saviour is the

condensation into terms of space and time of the whole ethical process of the ages, that his humanity is true divinity, and that love to him can be shown only by loving our fellow-men, his brethren. The evolution of religion is inseparable from the evolution of morality, for they are but obverse sides of one whole, religion being simply morality toward God, while morality is religion toward man.

The incarnate Word has subjected himself to a process of evolution, reaching results not at a bound, but slowly and by steps of natural and rational advance, and he has thus imaged to us the history of creation. Should we not expect to find the same process repeated in the written word, which conveys the knowledge of Christ to men? A seventh and last step of progress in our recent theology is its application of the principle of development to Holy Scripture. We see, as our fathers did not, that the recording of revelation like the giving of it was no single act, but multiplex, and that God spake to the fathers through the prophets in many parts and in many ways. The Spirit of Christ which was in them was the Spirit of the immanent Christ working after his common evolutionary fashion. It was not the sudden impact of a power from without but the movement of a power from within, which only in thought was distinguishable from the activity of their own minds and hearts and wills. And inspiration was like grace; it was not infallible nor impeccable. The first covenant was not faultless, and for the hardness of their hearts God gave his people statutes that were not good. The light of truth and of duty came to them gradually: it was first starlight, then dawn, finally day.

No particular theory of inspiration is essential to Christianity, for Christianity existed in full vigor when no New Testament book had been composed. The genuineness and credibility of our Gospels might be successfully argued just as we argue the genuineness and credibility of Thucydides, even though they had never been inspired. The Holy Spirit can use all methods of composition which men properly and truthfully use in the communication of truth. Does Robert Browning impersonate Clive or Fra Lippo Lippi, reanimating some dead hero and causing him to tell out to us the secret of his life? Then the Holy Spirit might conceivably inspire some godly writer of after times to impersonate King Solomon and disclose in the book of Ecclesiastes the skepticism and pessimism of his wanderings from God. If John Bunyan could properly construct an allegory like *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the book of Jonah might conceivably be an apologue and still be inspired, and whether it is an apologue or a history is a mere question of interpretation which every Christian is free to decide for himself without prejudice to his faith in inspiration whatever his conclusion may be.

Not only methods of composition but methods of collection are subject to this rule. A book may go by the name of its chief writer, and Isaiah or Zechariah may have a double authorship. The Pentateuch may be Mosaic only for substance; the laws of Leviticus may be later additions in the spirit of what Moses wrote; the speeches in Deuteronomy may be representations by one of Moses' successors on the west of Jordan of instructions by the great lawgiver on the east of Jordan which had been traditionally handed down.

Does this application of evolutionary principles to Scripture disprove its inspiration? Nay, it only makes its inspiration more plain. It requires less musical genius and organizing ability to train a single violinist to execute a solo than it does to make forty instruments play one great symphony. The more composite the authorship of Scripture, the stronger is the proof of one superintending divine Mind that combines the scattered *biblia* into one *Bible*. The modern view of inspiration delivers us indeed from some older conceptions of Scripture as a sort of ready reckoner, an oracle each of whose utterances apart from its connections is divine, a mechanical whole which accomplishes its purpose without our care or thought. The modern view sees in Scripture a grander inspiration than this,—an inspiration which, while it does not guarantee the inerrancy of Scripture in every historical and scientific detail, does yet make it, when taken together and when rightly interpreted, infallible for its purpose of communicating moral and religious truth, and able to make us wise unto salvation. And if ever a question arises whether the earlier teachings as to divorce or war or slavery represented the highest moral standard, we may judge them as parts of a progressively unfolding system whose key and culmination we find in Jesus Christ. “Moses said unto you” is followed by “But I say unto you.” And yet Christ fulfills the law and the prophets by embodying in his life and teachings the essential spirit of the whole Old Testament revelation. He is the ripe fruit of which it was the seed and germ.

I have sometimes seen a charming view on the stereoptic screen interrupted by the gigantic shadow of the

hand of an inept manipulator. So fifty years ago God's great series of Scripture views, awe-inspiring as it was, lost a portion of its impressiveness by the intervention of some man-made theories of inspiration. Our generation distrusts the conclusions of many of the higher critics. But the higher criticism has achieved some positive results, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the principle of growth solves many of the previous difficulties of Holy Scripture. The same immanent Christ who moved in Hebrew history presided also over the history of inspiration. We have no need to doubt the supernatural element either in the world or in the Bible, so long as he is recognized as the animating and controlling force in both. Our modern theology has immensely gained in candor and insight by acknowledging that the same method of human growth which was adopted by the incarnate Word was also adopted in the production of the written word, and that both these manifestations of the immanent Christ consist with and throw light upon one another.

I have attempted in this hasty sketch to show the new advances toward scientific clearness and unity which theology has made during the past fifty years. I am well aware that some who have listened to me may regard my doctrine as more new than true. Further reflection will, I trust, convince them that what seem to be novelties of belief are after all only old truths of Scripture which the intense rays of modern science and philosophy have brought out from obscurity and have made visible. I have found these newly apprehended or newly emphasized truths to be: first, that God is immanent in his universe; secondly, that

this immanent God is none other than Christ; thirdly, that Christ's method is that of evolution; fourthly, that this evolution is characteristically and predominantly ethical; fifthly, that the ethical meaning of the universe is summed up in the historical Jesus; sixthly, that the central principle of this ethical system is the supremacy of righteousness in the nature of God; and, seventhly, that this principle of ethical development is to be applied to the understanding and interpretation of Holy Scripture.

I have hoped that this statement of the gains of the last half-century might answer a pacific purpose and might show us that some of the divisions of the past were needless and might now be healed. Let me quote to you a great utterance of the great Döllinger, the man who ventured greatly when he broke with the Roman Church and with all the traditions of the past in order to follow Christ and his convictions of Christ's truth. His words are these: "Theology must become a science not, as heretofore, for making war, but for making peace, and thus bring about that reconciliation of churches for which the whole civilized world is longing." That Döllinger did not regard this reconciliation as attainable by mere outward union is plain from his founding of a new church. His exhortation is to the cultivation of a spirit rather than to the acceptance of a creed. Yet the spirit will lead to the creed. When we are ready to take truth even from heretics or from heathen, the bars will begin to fall and the churches will begin to see eye to eye. The new Free Church Catechism is proof that on all the great essentials our evangelical churches are already one. I seem to see

already the first beams of the dawn. In its recognition of the universal presence and lordship of Christ our half-century has done much to hasten the answer to his prayer "that they all may be one." By his teachings and especially by his candid and gracious spirit, President Alvah Hovey has done his full share in promoting that unity. For our sakes may he be late in going into heaven! May his mantle fall on his successor in the presidential chair! May all we who teach catch something of his spirit! And may Christ our Lord, whose favor has so attended his servant, lead us also on, till we all attain "unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"!

STATE AND CHURCH IN 1492
AND IN 1892 ¹

“HE brought us out, that he might bring us in.” Out of Egypt into Canaan; out of slavery into freedom; out of the despotism and idolatry of the Pharaohs into the good land and large where they could worship the God of their fathers. It was the first great national deliverance, the beginning on earth of civil and religious liberty. No wonder that the glory of it is ascribed to God. Only his mighty outstretched arm could have drowned the oppressor in the sea, led his people like a flock through the wilderness, turned a multitudinous rabble of cowardly bondmen into a disciplined army,—into an independent, liberty-loving, God-fearing nation. But the God who brought Israel out also brought Israel in. He did not leave those whom he had redeemed to perish in the desert. He provided a land for the people, as well as a people for the land. There in Palestine, secure under his protection from the ravenous heathen monarchies around them, Israel entered for the first time in human history upon the sublime experiment of combining just civil government with the service and worship of the true God.

¹ A sermon before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Philadelphia, May 29, 1892, on the text: Deut. 6 : 23—“And he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he sware unto our fathers.”

The hand that brought Israel out, that it might thus bring Israel in, was the hand of Christ. Moses was the human instrument, but the real agent was one greater than he. For this reason we read in the Apocalypse of "the song of Moses . . . and the song of the Lamb." It is intimated that this first deliverance of God's people through Moses was a victory of the pre-incarnate Son of God, and that it was the type and beginning of a long series of deliverances scattered through history and culminating in the final triumph of Christ and his church, when they shall stand on the heavenly shore, looking back upon that glassy sea mingled with fire in which the last enemy has been overwhelmed. Every advance of liberty, culture, faith, takes place under the leadership of Christ. All patriotic songs are written, consciously or unconsciously, in his honor. It is he, the Lamb of God, who from age to age brings out his people, in order that he may bring them in.

Human history has been the history of migrations. The immense westward movement that first populated and then depopulated the classic lands, that first established the Greek and Latin empires and then overthrew them, was the most significant political event of the ancient world. And the greatest political event of the modern world is that same westward movement in its continuance to the American shores. The discovery of this continent by Columbus is the beginning of modern history, and about it turns the whole future destiny of man. It is fit that we should mark this four hundredth year by a solemn recognition of what Edward Johnson, the old Puritan writer, called "the wonder-working providence of Zion's Saviour."

With this view I have taken for my theme : State and Church in 1492 and in 1892 ; or, the progress of civil and religious liberty in four hundred years, with American Christianity as a factor in that progress.

As we follow the march of the nations from the Tiber to the Thames, and from the Thames to the Mississippi, we shall find equal reason for rejoicing, whether we consider from what our American Israel has been brought out or to what our American Israel has been brought in. Fourteen hundred and ninety-two,—how looked the world in that year of our Lord? What were Church and State, and what the relations between them? As for the church, we may answer that it had utterly forgotten its spiritual vocation, and had become over all Europe the servile abettor and instrument of civil despotism. How low it had fallen and how far it had departed from the ideal of its divine Founder can be easily seen if we remember what that ideal was, and then trace the stages of the church's history. The foundation of the church is the spiritual connection of the individual believer with the living Christ, his Saviour and his King. His rule is a rule over the human spirit ; within the realm of faith and conscience he is the supreme and the only Lord. As his reign is a spiritual one, his laws are enforced solely by spiritual sanctions.

Side by side with the Church, but in entire independence of it, stands the State. It too is a divine institution and is clothed with a divine authority. But it has to do only with men's outward and earthly and temporal affairs. While the Church visits spiritual offenses with purely spiritual pains and penalties, the State has only to do with civil offenses, and these it visits with civil

pains and penalties. The Church is not to intrude into the sphere of the State, or wield its physical weapons ; nor is the State to intrude into the sphere of the Church, or meddle with things spiritual. The State is to help the Church only by protecting it from external violence, and by securing to all its citizens the right to exercise and to propagate their faith so long as that faith does not involve violations of the rights of others. The Church on the other hand is to help the State by declaring that the powers that be are ordained by God, and that the citizen in all civil matters owes obedience to constituted authority. This entire separation, yet friendly co-operation, of Church and State is the scheme of the New Testament. Leopold von Ranke was a true statesman, as well as a true churchman, when he said that "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," was the most important utterance of Christ.

For three centuries, or down to the time of Constantine in 325, the Church was true to Christ's prescription, though the State was not. The one word that designates the period is the word *persecution*. Christianity was an illicit religion. Yet it prospered in spite of repression. The pruning knife only gave vigor to its growth. Ten converts rose to fill the place of every martyr. At last the heathen world stood awe-stricken before the spectacle of such self-forgetful constancy and yielded, at least outwardly, to the claims of Christ. Then began a second period, lasting from 325 to 1050, for which the word *patronage* is the only proper designation. The Emperor Constantine took the church under his protection. As his imperial predecessors had

persecuted the Christians, so now his successors in the empire began to persecute the heathen. It became a matter of worldly advantage to profess Christianity. The civil power combined with a lax morality and with infant baptism to sweep the whole population into the church. The kingdom of God came to be identified with the visible church, and the visible church little by little came to mean the Roman hierarchy.

The Church, thus nourished in the bosom of the State, repaid the kindness shown, by stinging to death its benefactor. Ecclesiastical arrogance and ambition outgrew all bounds. A third period followed, from 1050¹ to 1250, in which the Church usurped the functions of the State and brought the world to her feet. The Papacy lorded it over the bodies as well as over the souls of men. It calmly appropriated to itself the traditions and the prerogatives of the Roman Empire. As the first period was the period of persecution, and the second period was the period of patronage, so this third period was the period of *power*. In Hildebrand's claim to jurisdiction over all civil governments, in Henry IV.'s purchasing his crown by penitential prayers as he waited barefoot during those cold January days at Canossa, and especially in the wresting from the emperors of the election of the popes and the giving of it to the cardinals as princes of the church, we see how near the Roman hierarchy came to absolute temporal dominion.

There followed a fourth period in the church's history which may be designated as the period of *policy*.

¹ More exactly 1059, when the election of the pope was taken out of the hands of the emperors and committed to the College of Cardinals.

Vaulting ambition had overleaped itself. Papal assumption provoked revolt. The Crusades, undertaken in the interest of the church, resulted in the weakening of the church and the transfer of her power to the rising kingdoms of Western Europe. Rome was no longer supreme. She was compelled to maintain her existence and to secure her ends by diplomacy and persuasion. As in the days of her power she had wrested from the empire the election of the popes, so now there was wrested from the popes the election of the emperors, and the seven electors chose their imperial head without asking whether the reigning pope said yea or nay. So from the year 1250¹ to the year 1517 the church became the slave of the temporal powers, depending upon them for support, and by most unworthy concessions in matters spiritual purchasing their help in the extermination of her foes.

Fourteen hundred ninety-two, when judged by moral or religious standards, was as dark a year as the world had seen since Christianity had begun to be. The church had run through its four stages of persecution, patronage, power, policy. It had apostatized from Christ, sold itself for worldly gain, become a false church instead of a true. Where in that dark time was the true Church of Christ? It was hiding in dens and caves of the earth, excommunicated, stretched upon the rack, burned at the stake. The Albigenses had been well-nigh exterminated; John Huss and Jerome of Prague had suffered martyrdom; Savonarola's fiery ap-

¹ More exactly 1256, when the seven electors first chose as Emperor, Richard of Cornwall. The privilege was confirmed a century later by the Golden Bull.

peals were preparing his doom. Between the years 1478 and 1498 thirty thousand persons were in various ways punished by the Inquisition, and more than eight thousand persons were burned alive.

And who was the head of the hierarchy in this same 1492? None other than Roderigo Borgia, otherwise known as Pope Alexander VI. He sold for money the highest offices of the church; by assassination he made offices vacant that he might have offices to sell. Books of inconceivable obscenity received his sanction; books with a tinge of evangelical truth he condemned. For impiety, worse than a Nero, for impurity, worse than a beast, he yet claimed to be the vicar of Jesus Christ. Not too harshly did Döllinger speak of him as among those popes "whom hell has swallowed up."

The world in 1492 had reached a practical demonstration that the alliance of Church and State is an incestuous one. Whether the Church dominate the State, or the State dominate the Church, the result is equally disastrous. When the Church assumes temporal powers, it ceases to be a church. In 1484 John Laillier, Doctor of the Sorbonne, cried out: "Since the days of Pope Sylvester, Rome is no Church of Christ, but a mere instrument of the State for the purpose of extorting money." And we shall never understand such a monstrosity as Alexander VI., unless we see in him a mere temporal prince, who for purposes of ambition pretends to be Christ's vicegerent, and hypocritically assumes to administer spiritual affairs. The very conception of a spiritual kingdom had well-nigh died out from the minds of men, or such a phenomenon would not have been possible.

While the Church had become the mere tool and slave of secular ambition, what shall we say of the State in 1492? Was civil government more free than ecclesiastical government? The short and simple answer is, that it was "the age of the despots." The characteristics of the time were Cæsarism, absolutism, centralization. Every king of Europe at that time could say: "*L'Etat, c'est moi*,"—"I am the State," just as the pope could say: "*L'Eglise, c'est moi*,"—"I am the Church." But in order to appreciate how much this means, and from what hideous civil conditions our fathers were brought out, it will be necessary to take a backward glance at the history of the State, as we have just reviewed the history of the Church.

Mr. John Fiske, in his "Beginnings of New England," furnishes us with a generalization which greatly helps our inquiry. The characteristic of the Oriental State, he tells us, was conquest without incorporation. Hence the unassimilated provinces of the Eastern empires fell apart just so soon as the external force that aggregated them was withdrawn. The characteristic of the Roman State, on the contrary, was conquest with incorporation, but without representation. Here was a great advance on the Oriental method; wherever Rome carried her victorious banners she made the conquered peoples Romans, giving them not only Roman protection but Roman citizenship. The Roman Empire was an organic whole; its organization and law enabled it for centuries to resist attack. Still it lacked the one element which alone could have given it perpetuity—the element of representation.

How shall a widely extended empire be kept to-

gether? How can the separated parts be made to retain their interest in the whole? Mere incorporation will not accomplish it; besides giving protection to the parts, you must give to the parts an actual share in the government. Hence Aristotle, ignorant of the principle of representation, declared that a republic must be small,—none can be permanent where the free citizens number more than ten thousand. The Greek democracies were indeed of brief duration. The Roman Empire also fell. We hear occasional predictions that our own republic, simply because of its bigness, must some day fall to pieces. Such predictions fail to take into account the fact that a third method has appeared in history, a method which we can call English, as distinguished from the Oriental and the Roman. While the Oriental State was characterized by conquest without incorporation, and the Roman State by conquest with incorporation but without representation, the English State is marked by incorporation and representation together.

The principle of representation is the gift of the German tribes to the world's civilization. Wherever those tribes overran Europe, they planted the seeds of this new principle of civil unity and freedom. We see the signs of it in the Cortes of Spain and the States-General of France. But on the Continent it is only in secluded spots, such as Switzerland and the Netherlands, that the seed bore permanent fruit. The old Roman method of government by prefects crowded the new element out. The separate parts were too unintelligent and lifeless to clamor for the liberty, or to defend the right, of representation. And so the Conti-

nent in great measure lost its opportunity and relapsed into political despotism, just as afterward, when the Reformation came, it lost its opportunity and relapsed into ecclesiastical despotism. Only in England—and there mainly because of its isolation from Continental example and its separation from the Roman past—did the representative principle have a chance to show what it could do to make a nation united and free.

Even in England, as we shall see, the germ was not yet fully developed, and it needed to be carried across the Atlantic and planted in virgin soil, where there was absolute freedom from rival or adverse influences, before it could bear its largest and noblest fruit. But the Magna Charta had been wrung from King John, in 1215, and Simon de Montfort's great victory, in 1264, had settled forever the principle that there can be no just taxation without representation. And though the Wars of the Roses drained England of her strength, and the death of Richard on Bosworth Field left Henry VII. free to rule almost without a parliament, yet the principle survived; it had indestructible vitality; it was destined still to animate the breasts of Englishmen, until they had brought a successor of this same Henry to the block, and had established a refuge and home for liberty beyond the sea.

It is always darkest just before the dawn. The great uprisings of freedom were, in 1492, things of the unknown and distant future. The shifting of the primacy from the Latin to the English race, and the development of that race in a new and greater England, could not yet have been predicted by man. The apathetic and gloomy despotism of Henry VII. in England was

contemporaneous with the reign in France of Louis XI., through whose tyranny and intrigue the power of the nobility was broken; standing armies were substituted for the service of feudal retainers, and every office of justice and legislation was made the instrument of the crown. Ferdinand of Arragon, with his smiles, his bigotry, and his remorseless coldness, had just married Isabella of Castile, a princess not so lovely as idealizing historians have painted her, and their united kingdoms constituted the Spain whose initial acts of State were the banishment of the Moors and the revival of the Inquisition. In Germany, Maximilian I. was following the example of Louis XI. in establishing a standing army which might, if possible, put an end to the universal reign of force and private war. In Russia, Ivan the Great had overthrown the Mongols after their two hundred and fifty years' supremacy, and had founded the united monarchy of Kiev and Moscow. Everywhere, so far as civil liberty was concerned, 1492 was a time of retrogression. Monarchical prerogative was overbearing all popular rights. Erasmus, not long after, compared the typical king to the eagle, and spoke of "that stern front, that threatening curve of the beak, those rapacious and wicked eyes, those cruel jaws." And it was of such times that Emerson wrote:

God said, "I am tired of kings—
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ears the morning brings
The outrage of the poor."

I have thus depicted, in brief, the condition of Church and State in the year of our Lord 1492. But that year

stands not only for the culmination of the old, but for the rise of the new order of things. As I have already intimated, the turning-point, the beginning of modern history, is the discovery of America by Columbus. That was the critical event in which previous wholesome influences culminated, and from which the great movements that were to follow took force and direction. Let us consider it in its relation to three great movements in particular: the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution. The Renaissance was the new birth of the human intellect, as the Reformation was the new birth of the human conscience, and the Revolution was the new birth of the human will. In spite of all the darkness, the morning hour had come. The exploration of the globe by Columbus in 1492, and the exploration of the universe by Copernicus in 1507, wonderfully expanded and stimulated the mind of man. The world was discovered to man, and man was discovered to himself. Every step of the process and every result achieved is a wonder of divine Providence. It has been customary to laud the early navigators. Closer investigation teaches us rather to magnify Him who directed their way. They were fallible, selfish, often wicked, men. But

Themselves from God they could not free ;
They builded better than they knew.

The halo of romance has been stripped from the brow of Columbus. He had amazing courage and daring, but he was little more than a bold buccaneer. Some sense of a divine mission indeed possessed him ; he celebrated mass on setting out from Palos, and the

first sight of the new world was greeted with a *gloria in excelsis*: he afterward declared that God had made him a messenger of the new heavens and the new earth. But he was a man of dreams and hallucinations, of chicanery and deceit; he deceived others, and he deceived himself. His religion was largely a cloak for his personal ambition; he was almost devoid of generosity or honor; he was so devoted to gain, that the Indians with whom he dealt held up a piece of gold and said: "Behold the Christian's God"; and, in spite of earnest protests from Ferdinand and Isabella, he sent cargoes of these same Indians to be sold in Spain, and thus became the first slave-driver of the new world. It was well that a flight of birds induced him to change his course to the southwest and to make for the West Indies, for otherwise he would have landed in Virginia, and with his first voyage would have brought North America under the dominion of Spain and the Inquisition.

The same Providence that turned Columbus southward against his will and so kept North America *from* Spain, only six years later turned Sebastian Cabot southward against his will and so kept North America *for* England. Under the patronage of Henry VII. Cabot set out for Labrador and Hudson's Bay. But icebergs terrified his crew; he changed his course and followed the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay, and this exploration laid the foundation for the British claim to the possession of most of our present United States. The subsequent settlements of New England and Virginia by the English, and the long conflict with Spain and her rival settlements in South America which ended

only with the destruction of the Armada, may be seen wrapped up in the germs planted by Cabot and Columbus.

But these discoveries were also signs of a new spirit in Europe—a public spirit, a patriotic spirit, a spirit of breadth and enterprise, of inquiry and unrest, of revolt against the traditional tyrannies both of Church and State. The very centralization which the kings devised in their own interest had awakened a sense of nationality. Joan of Arc was not so much the cause as she was the expression of this new feeling of unity in France. The merely local and individual began to recognize its relation to the life of the whole. Kings used this new national consciousness for their purposes, but it was a spirit which they did not evoke, and which they could not permanently control. Macchiavelli's "Prince," with its calm praise of royal perfidy, shows at any rate that a third estate was rising, of which the monarch must henceforth take account. The fifteenth century witnessed the first systematic substitution of diplomacy for force.

Down to this time the peoples of Europe had not been intelligent enough to influence foreign affairs, and their monarchs did this business for them. But when the Turks took Constantinople, in 1453, and the Eastern Empire fell, and scholars fled from the ancient haunts of learning, and their Greek books were brought into the debased and ignorant West, there resulted such a sudden and mighty outburst of human intelligence as the world had never seen before. The thoughts of men were preternaturally widened. Science, literature, and art began to awaken from the sleep of ages. Italy was at

this time the great fountain of ideas, and in Italy the very extinction of her ancient liberties under the iron hand of the despots resulted in the turning of every energy into the new revival of learning. Printing had just been invented, and had made it impossible again to destroy the intellectual treasures of mankind. Whole generations set themselves to rediscover the classic writers, and to transfer their words from manuscript to the printed page. From the bed of the Tiber, and from the buried ruins of old Roman villas, were dug up such masterpieces as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere; and Venus rose once more from the earth, as she was fabled of old to have risen from the sea.

Though the Renaissance began in Italy, it quickly extended throughout Europe. The presses of Florence and Venice were duplicated in Paris and Lyons and Basle. Learning and printing together penetrated even the thick darkness of England, where many a nobleman could not read, and where many a priest could not understand the Latin of his prayers. In 1471 William Caxton established his press under the shadow of Westminster Abbey, and Erasmus, Colet, and More began the teaching of Greek in the University of Oxford. Well has it been said that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched. Scholasticism, and the whole brood of papal assumptions, had thrown upon them the blazing light of a new knowledge and a new zeal for truth.

How needful this enlightenment was may be judged when we remember to what slavery of intellect and heart Rome had reduced the world. In perfect accord with Rome's conception of arbitrary sovereignty, the scholastic philosophy of Duns Scotus and William of

Occam had taught that truth and right are just what God's will makes them : they have no foundation in the nature of things, or in the nature of God. God has made the radii of a circle to be equal, but he could just as easily have made them unequal ; he has chosen that veracity and purity shall be virtues, but he could just as easily have made lying to be right and purity to be wrong. Since truth and right are not necessary but only arbitrary relations, no amount of thinking or reasoning can ever determine what is right or what is true, —this is one of God's secrets, which only he can make known. He has told the secret only to the church. Only the church can dispense it to the world. This the priest will do for a consideration. The thoughtful naturally drew the inference that a merely arbitrary truth was hardly worth the purchasing, and a merely arbitrary right was hardly worth the doing. The world sank into a hopeless skepticism as to the very existence of truth, and into a desperate immorality which defied both right and God.

The first effect of the Renaissance indeed was an amazing increase of human wickedness. The reading of the classic writers stimulated not only the intellect but also the passions of men. Many a form of heathen depravity, which had been buried in oblivion, arose once more to corrupt the world. The spirit of the age is expressed in the legend of Doctor Faustus, ready to sell his soul for knowledge, and when knowledge failed to satisfy, throwing his whole being into the pursuit of pleasure. Never in all the world was there more complete proof that mere knowledge will not make men moral. The wickedest of the popes were great patrons

of learning and of art. Ferocity and sensuality walked hand in hand with letters. The young world, just risen from sleep, had unbounded capacity for enjoyment; everything seemed possible and permissible to its fresh energy. Church and creed restrained no longer,—they were either thrown aside or they led the race for mere physical beauty and delight. In short, paganism had come again, and the gods of power and pleasure were worshiped in the place of Christ.

How infinitely important it was, if the world was not to go down again into heathenism and destruction, that the Renaissance, the new birth of the human intellect, should be followed by the Reformation, the new birth of the human conscience! Rome had become the Sodom and Egypt of the book of Revelation,—a Sodom for impurity, and an Egypt for darkness and oppression. She gave no relief or help to the conscience-stricken or the dying. When the conscience-stricken sought for pardon, the conditions were simply physical penance and the giving of their treasures to the church. When the dying stretched out agonizing hands to grasp some sure support as they walked out into the great darkness, their ears were dinned by the droning of the priest, as he offered unintelligible prayers to the Virgin and to a whole sky-full of saints. How terrible a commentary upon the corruptions of a false Christianity is the vow of the Sultan Amurath! That Moslem monarch, believing that there was but one God, and that Mohammed was his prophet, swore a great oath that he would give himself no rest till he had destroyed the gods of gold, silver, brass, and wood, that were worshiped by the disciples of Christ. But there was another destruction

preparing, at the hands of a stouter heart and a truer believer, the converted monk of Wittenberg. Twenty-five years after the discovery of the new world a movement was inaugurated which was to link civil and religious liberty together, and to transport both to the shores of America. The false Church and the despotic State must be shaken to their foundations in order that a better order which could not be shaken might remain. That mighty movement was the Reformation under Luther. We have seen the need of it. And now the hour had struck.

Down came the storm. In ruins fell
The outworn world we knew.
It passed,—that elemental swell ;
Again appeared the blue !

The Reformation was, above all things else, a revival of religion. It never would have accomplished what it did, if it had not begun with the heart and purified the springs of action. But it did not end with the heart,—it clarified the intellect also. It took up into itself whatever was good in the Renaissance and purged it of the evil. It made havoc of the saints and the ceremonies, the penances and the priests, with which Rome had encumbered and obscured the way of salvation, and it brought man once more, after the old New Testament fashion, into personal dealings with his God and Saviour. Here was the death-blow to skepticism. Faith was the highest sort of knowledge. The vision of God which the believer enjoyed through the Holy Spirit was more immediate than ocular perception or logical demonstration. Faith, at the Reformation, laid the foundation of

modern scientific certainty; it had God sure,—since God is truth and truth is God, other things may be sure also,—hence it proceeded to banish skepticism in philosophy and science. All our present convictions of the value of normally conducted investigation, all our faith in a rationally constituted universe, all our nineteenth-century harvests of knowledge and invention, are the fruits of spiritual seed planted by Luther at the Reformation.

It seems wonderful to us that Luther, after having revived the New Testament doctrine of faith, did not also revive the New Testament doctrine of the church. This was his error; this was the reason why his Reformation did not permanently endure in Germany. The multitude of the unregenerate which infant baptism brought into the church soon undid the work of religious revival, just as it had done once before in the time of the Emperor Constantine, and left Christianity a prey to formalism and skepticism. Luther undervalued polity, as compared with doctrine, and so he deprived doctrine of its divinely appointed guardian and defender. He did not trust enough in the self-governing powers of the body of true believers, and so he gave over to the State the government of the Church. Revolting at the fanaticisms of the uninstructed, and not knowing that the only remedy for the evils of liberty is liberty, he concluded that in the matter of church government the princes should lead and the people should follow. Did he not believe in the priesthood of individual believers? Ah, yes! but he also believed that, since the nation was Christian also, there should be a public judgment in matters of religion, and that this judgment should be

expressed by the State. It was only the Roman principle in a modified form. Its adoption was a mistake so fatal that it vitiated the whole Reformation in Europe, and made absolutely necessary another movement on another continent for the establishment of a free Church in a free State.

Luther mixed up Church and State once more. But he had his misgivings. "Satan remains Satan," he said; "under the pope, Satan pushed the Church into the State; now he wishes to push the State into the Church." But all the Reformers, save a few insignificant Anabaptists, unwittingly helped on this same retrogression. It matters not where you look. There was no real freedom of conscience anywhere. The Church included the entire baptized population. The State was simply the Church exercising civil functions. The State, therefore, must stand for Christianity, and must root out all unchristian belief and practice. In theory there was toleration, but only in non-essentials; and the State usually determined that everything was essential which in any way affected its creed or its influence. Hence Calvin, who has been called "the constitutional lawyer of the Reformation," assented to the burning of Servetus, and Zwingli assented to the drowning of Mantz.

I have mentioned the Anabaptists, and have called them insignificant. This they were in numbers, but not in influence. Originating in the valleys of Switzerland, a natural home of civil freedom, and possibly tracing their spiritual descent from the Waldenses on the southern side of the Alps, they represent the real Reformation movement, from which both Luther and

Zwingli for political reasons turned aside. Mantz, for whose drowning Zwingli was responsible, was an Anabaptist, and so were Sattler and Blaurock and Hetzer and Hübmeier, some of whom had their tongues torn out, while others had their bodies lacerated with red-hot tongs, and all of them were burned at the stake. All these believed in complete separation of Church and State, while yet they enjoined obedience to the civil power in all things not contrary to conscience and the word of God. They were men of the highest learning, ability, and piety. Hübmeier, before his conversion, had been Professor of Theology at the University of Ingolstadt. Most of them had been Zwingli's lieutenants, until Zwingli's desertion of scriptural principles compelled them to desert him. At Schleithem, a little village near Schaffhausen, they issued, in 1527, the first published Confession in which Christian men claimed absolute religious freedom for themselves and granted absolute religious freedom to others. They were the first martyrs of soul-liberty in Europe; the first who dared proclaim even unto death the New Testament doctrine of a wholly spiritual church; the first who pushed to its logical consequences the principle that civil government has no authority over conscience. We glory in the fact that these reformers of the Reformers were Baptists.

God's providence is nowhere more clearly seen than in the topography of the earth and in the physical preparations for human history. Christianity has run in channels marked out by road lines and by river lines, simply because these have been the lines of human traffic and intercourse. It was so at the Reforma-

tion. Calvinism originated at Geneva, in Switzerland. Whither should it first extend itself? Why, naturally down the river Rhine to the Low Countries and the sea.

As Calvinism flowed downward with commerce and the waters of the Rhine to the Netherlands and so across to England, it was inevitable that the English Reformation should be tinged with Calvin's spirit. When the Presbyterians, who best represented Calvin, were persecuted by the Episcopal government, they prayed for toleration. And well they might, for one of their ministers, Alexander Leighton by name, for publishing a book against the bishops,¹ was sentenced to deposition from the ministry, to public whipping, and to imprisonment for life, after being fined £10,000, besides having his cheeks branded, his ears cut off, and his nostrils slit. This was in 1628, and the sufferer had been Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh. But when the Presbyterians came into power, they still held that it was the right of the State to add its civil penalties to the censures of the Church. The Westminster Confession, at the end of that very chapter on Christian liberty in which is affirmed the Reformation principle of private judgment, proclaims that the magistrate, by his power, may proceed against men who merely publish opinions, provided they are contrary to the known principles of Christianity, or to the power of godliness, or even to the external peace and order of the church. John Milton himself had no notion of

¹ A rather violent book, indeed, in which he called those prelates "men of blood," and characterized prelacy in general as "anti-Christian and Satanical."

giving liberty to Papists; Richard Baxter called universal toleration "soul-murder," and "the way to men's damnation"; and even Oliver Cromwell retained lay patronage and the compulsory payment of tithes, the injustice of which has become the more apparent as time has passed by.

But now we find that the obscure sect of Anabaptists which was ruthlessly suppressed in Switzerland, and afterward was persecuted in the Netherlands, had made its way to the east of England, and had begun to exercise a leavening influence upon the British nation. In 1540 they refused to act as magistrates, because the magistrate had to enforce laws against dissenters. In 1550 Joan Boucher, of Kent, one of these Anabaptists, was burned at the stake; and in 1575 another of them, Terwoort by name, a Fleming by birth, suffered the same fate, leaving this testimony: "They who have the one true gospel doctrine and faith will persecute no one, but will themselves be persecuted." As early as 1560, indeed, John Knox quotes an English Anabaptist as claiming entire freedom of conscience, and threatens him with prosecution. It is probable that Robert Browne, the first advocate of Congregational doctrine, got originally from the Anabaptists of Norwich those Separatist ideas whose propagation resulted ultimately in the exodus of the Pilgrim Fathers first to Holland, and then to New England. It is certain that he was by no means the first to advocate in Britain the doctrine of soul-liberty,—this honor belongs to the Anabaptists.

Robert Browne's Confession bears the date of 1582. The Confession of John Smyth, an indubitable Baptist, in 1611, declares the absolute separation of Church and

State to be the law of Christ. And since this Confession is so important a part of the history of Church and State, I quote these significant words of it :

The magistrate, by virtue of his office, is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion ; but to leave the Christian religion to the free conscience of any one, and to meddle only with political matters. Christ alone is the king and law-giver of the Church and the conscience.

It has sometimes been said that Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, printed in 1516, was the first public advocacy of religious liberty. "It should be lawful," he says, "for every man to favor and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against others." But we must remember that all this was in *Utopia*, the land of Nowhere. It was not the profession of a creed, nor did Sir Thomas More's practice answer to it. When he was Lord Chancellor, he himself persecuted and defended persecution. Our Baptist claim must still stand, that the people whom we represent made the first serious and combined effort in human history to establish entire freedom of conscience. But ah! the long struggle that was required to make that principle operative. The Church of England did not accept even the idea of toleration until 1688, seventy-seven years after John Smyth's Confession. And what were the chances, when that Confession was published in 1611, that its contention would be granted, may be sufficiently known from the reply of King James I. to the Presbyterians :

“I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of England.” Well did the contemporary Duke of Sully call King James “the wisest fool in Christendom.”

How evident it is that the Renaissance, the new birth of the human intellect, and the Reformation, the new birth of the human conscience, needed to be followed by the Revolution, the new birth of the human will! Political centralization confronted the liberty of thought. Absolute monarchy and free inquiry had triumphed at the same time in Europe. The Reformation had broken down the spiritual tyranny of the papacy. The Revolution under Cromwell was needed to break down the tyranny of the civil power. The French Revolution was only the later phase on the Continent of the same general conflict, and our own Revolution in 1776 may be regarded as its sequel also. Guizot has well said that in the English and the French Revolutions the principle of absolute authority was swept away. England was snatched from the side of absolutism to be the most powerful support of civil and religious liberty in Europe. Liberty triumphed in France also, but there were no institutions there to perpetuate it, and the populace became as great a tyrant as the king. Only in our own day is the French nation gradually shaping a system by which liberty can be made permanent. In neither the English nor the French Revolutions, although they established constitutional government, was the Church sundered from the State and made entirely free from its control. The system which gives both State and Church their rights had to be worked out in a land without precedents, and that land is America.

As divine Providence had frustrated all the efforts of

Spain to gain a foothold in the New World north of the gulf of Mexico, so that same Providence delayed the exodus from England, and kept Englishmen in their native land until that land had been purified by the Reformation. Even then, a hundred and twenty-eight years after the first voyage of Columbus, it was not the common run of Englishmen that were permitted to go, but only those few select spirits in whom suffering for their faith had developed a stalwart manhood. Queen Mary had earned her title of "Bloody" by persecuting to their death more than three hundred of her subjects, and by driving more than eight hundred of them to the Continent. The burning of Archbishop Cranmer, however, was the death-blow of Roman Catholicism in England, and the only result of banishing his sympathizers was that they took refuge with their Protestant friends in Holland and Switzerland, and at length came back stout Calvinists and Presbyterians. So began the Puritan movement, which gathered force under the reigns of Elizabeth and of James, only to pour itself forth from 1620 to 1640 in one determined and heroic effort to establish Christian commonwealths in a land where ritual and prelacy were unknown.

The migration to America was marvelously timed, not only as to its beginning, but also as to its end. During those twenty years, a thousand Englishmen a year expatriated themselves and took up their abode on the rocky coast of New England. Among these twenty thousand Englishmen were men of the highest character and education. Of their eighty ministers, half were graduates of Cambridge or of Oxford, and Boston was only six years old when out of its penury the colony of

Massachusetts Bay established its new Cambridge on this side of the sea. Well might William Staughton say in his Election Sermon of 1688: "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." The Puritans and the Pilgrims came just at the time when religious conviction and love of liberty were at white heat. Never was there a migration with which the almighty dollar had less to do. So says a recent historian, and the incalculable hardships, the exalted steadfastness, the spiritual devotion of that migration are "dear to God and famous to all ages." They succeeded in their aim. They transplanted English institutions, the town-meeting, representative government, to American soil. They brought with them the habit of resistance to encroachment upon their liberties which prepared the way for our American Revolution. They brought with them the sense of nationality which prepared the way for our war in defense of the Union.

And yet in twenty years the movement was all over. Continuing during just those years when the two currents of civil freedom and of religious faith were strongest in all the history of England, the tide of emigration stopped with the assembling of the Long Parliament. Then Puritan energy had enough to do at home. The tyrant Charles was to be defeated at Naseby, tried at Westminster, and beheaded at Whitehall. Cromwell and the Commonwealth were to give order, and freedom, and power to England. And for nearly a century there was no more emigrating to America. Indeed, after the first Puritan energy had spent itself and the luxurious reaction came under Charles II., England

could add but little to the heroic hearts that were working out their problem of government three thousand miles away. Hands off, now! Try your experiment, New England! See whether you can build up a State where there is freedom to worship God!

Ah, we must confess again that these brave colonists were led on by a higher wisdom and to nobler ends than they themselves were conscious of! Freedom to worship God? Yes, they sought a place to worship God themselves, but they had not the slightest notion of giving the same right to other men who desired to worship God in a way different from theirs. They not only had no design of establishing religious liberty, but they would have abhorred the very thought of it. Why, then, had they left their homes in England? Simply because the State religion there did not suit them, and because they wished to establish a new State religion. It was a New *England* that they sought on this side of the Atlantic. There were, indeed, important differences between the Puritans and the Pilgrims, between the colony of Massachusetts Bay and the colony of Plymouth. The Puritans never renounced their connection with the Episcopal Church as established by law. Their aim was simply reform within the church, reform which should do away with popish vestments and ceremonial, but which should leave the church after Calvin's fashion, still commanding the civil powers. No ideas of universal suffrage were ever harbored in their minds. They intended that only good men should rule, and theocracy was their ideal of government. They talked of toleration in minor matters; but the toleration of deadly error they regarded with abhorrence,—it was impiety

and treason to both God and the State. Whatever menaced theocratic government was deadly error. And so they not only hanged witches, but they banished the Quakers, together with Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth, on the other hand, were Separatists. They had given up the hope of reform within the Church of England, and they had begun a reform and had set up a church for themselves, "without tarrying for any." They were not Presbyterians, but Independents. They abjured altogether the theory of a national church. They had their rise in the east of England, and for this reason, after leaving Scrooby, where their first church was formed, and Leyden, the Dutch town of their temporary sojourn, they spread abroad from Plymouth, and named the counties and towns of eastern Massachusetts from the towns and counties of eastern England, their early home. A spirit of greater charity prevailed among them than manifested itself among the Puritans,—their exile in Holland, and the sorrows that followed it, had softened them, somewhat as the Puritans were softened afterward. While the Puritans admitted to full church privileges all who had been baptized in infancy, the Pilgrims limited the number of communicants in the church to those who were thought to be regenerate. While the Puritan wanted right government, the Pilgrim wished to add to this a certain measure of individual liberty. The Puritan desired not only to walk in the right way himself, but to compel other men to walk in it also; the Pilgrim held in theory, and for a time at least, that religion was a voluntary matter, and that the

State must do nothing but protect the Church against violence. And so, through the early years at Plymouth, Miles Standish was captain of the military forces of the Old Colony, although he was not a member of the church; while the General Court of Massachusetts Bay decided, in 1631, that all State officials must be church-members, and that no one should be entitled to vote for these State officials unless he too was a member of some orthodox church.

It might also seem that Plymouth Colony was a home of religious liberty. But this was only because the Pilgrims were a homogeneous body, and no occasion for testing their liberality had yet arisen. Miles Standish was a whole-souled man; he loved the Pilgrims, if he did not love their faith; he had at any rate no heterodox or disturbing doctrines to propound. Until 1656 there was no express religious qualification for office. But two years later, as Mr. Winsor tell us,¹ "When the colony was overrun with Quaker propagandists, persons of that faith, as well as all others who similarly opposed the laws and the established worship, were distinctly excluded from the privileges of freemen, and, in the new revision of the laws in 1671, freemen were obliged to be at least twenty-one years of age, 'of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion,' and possessed of at least twenty pounds' worth of rateable estate in the colony." It is true that this religious exclusiveness did not find formal expression in legislation until half a century after the colony was founded, and we must grant that the people of Plymouth were somewhat more liberal than those of Massachusetts

¹Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. III., p. 280.

Bay. But the germ of intolerance was there, though for a time it was latent. Plymouth did not have enough love for free speech to make her willing in defense of it "to displease the Bay,"—a notable difference between her and Rhode Island, for Rhode Island, only a little while after, gave up all hope of union with the other colonies rather than give up the principle of freedom.

It is very plain that Roger Williams could not find a home at Plymouth any more than at Salem. Able, conscientious, and courageous as he was, he was without question restless and contentious also. But it was not merely his restlessness and contentiousness for which he was banished, but also his advocacy of the absolute separation of Church and State; or, to use his own words, his holding that "the civil magistrate's power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward state of men." This is the reason why he was warned off from Plymouth, after he had unwittingly taken refuge within the bounds of that colony.¹ No wonder that he could not easily forget the inhospitality that forced him to leave the corn he had planted and the house he had built, and to wander through the forests "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." The Pilgrims as well as the Puritans thrust him out. But at last he reached a spot where both Puritans and Pilgrims ceased from troubling, and where the weary man found rest. In gratitude he called the place Providence. There he became a Baptist, and

¹ Governor Winslow advised him that as his plantation was within the limits of Plymouth Colony, who "were loath to displease the Bay, he should remove the other side the water."

there he instituted the first government on earth organized upon the principle of absolute freedom to all belief and practice not conflicting with good order and morals. For the first time in the long and patient centuries soul-liberty was recognized and guaranteed by civil government, and the unhallowed union of Church and State was formally dissolved.¹

All this took place in 1636. But did not Lord Baltimore secure his charter for the Maryland Colony in 1632, and did not this charter provide for complete freedom of faith? The Maryland Colony was established in 1634, two years before Roger Williams settled in Providence. Does not this give to Maryland the honor of being the first government in which liberty in matters of faith was established by law? No, it does not. Liberal as Lord Baltimore was, and eager as he was to provide an asylum where Roman Catholics might have equal privileges with members of the Church of England, it never occurred to him that a wider liberty than this was possible. Toleration extended only to such as professed to believe in Christ. There was no toleration contemplated for Socinians or infidels.² The "Act concern-

¹ Bancroft, History of United States, Vol. I., p. 375: Roger Williams "was the first in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor."

² The charter gives the Proprietary the advowsons of all churches which might happen to be built, and provides that no law shall be made prejudicial to God's holy and true religion. This cannot be held to establish the Church of England, or to prohibit the exercise of any other worship. There was probably a secret understanding that Catholics and the Church of England should enjoy the same religious rights. The charter itself did not enforce toleration, for under this charter the Church

ing Religion," passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1649, was simply the writing out of Lord Baltimore's unwritten law, and it expressed the meaning of the charter of 1632. It declares simply that "no person professing to believe in Christ shall be in any ways troubled or molested"; and that there may be no mistake it provides that blasphemy and the denial of the Trinity, or of Christ's divinity, shall be punishable with death. Although Lord Baltimore himself was very tolerant, his charter did not enforce toleration. Under that charter, interpreted as it was by the Act of 1649,—an act for which Maryland has been too generously called "the land of the sanctuary,"—a Quaker missionary only ten years after, or in 1659,¹ received a sentence of banishment. But who ever doubted that Quakers were free to propagate their faith in Rhode Island?

So Baptists first announced the principle of religious liberty in Switzerland; Baptists first advocated it in England; a Baptist first established it in America. In each case, so far as the evidence goes, it was a new discovery by men who studied the New Testament for themselves, and who sought to follow only Christ. In commenting on the Confession of English Baptists issued in 1644, Prof. Henry C. Vedder, in his "Short History of the Baptists," has well said :

of England was afterward established, and disabilities were put upon Catholics and dissenters. Freedom of worship was actually granted at first, and Christians of every name were invited to settle. Puritans and Prelatists came there when persecuted in New England. Bancroft, "History of United States," Vol. I., p. 256, "The clause for liberty in Maryland extended only to Christians."

¹ This order provides that Quakers shall be arrested and whipped out of the province.

This is a great landmark not only of Baptists but of the progress of enlightened Christianity. Those who published to the world this teaching, then deemed revolutionary and dangerous, held, in all but a few points of small importance, precisely those views of Christian truth that are held to-day. For substance of doctrine, any of us might subscribe to it without a moment's hesitation. On the strength of this one fact, Baptists might fairly claim that, whatever might have been said by isolated individuals before, they were the pioneer body among modern Christian denominations to advocate the right of all men to worship God, each according to the dictates of his own conscience, without let or hindrance from any earthly power.

Again and again they have endured persecution. The unmerciful whipping of Obadiah Holmes, in the streets of Boston, and the expulsion from his office of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, not a denominational but a State institution, for his preaching against infant baptism, were of the same piece with the fines and imprisonments with which Baptists were visited in Maine, New York, and Virginia. As Baptists began, so they continued the movement for entire abolition of church endowments and religious tests. Dexter, in his monumental work on Congregationalism, quotes from Belcher the statement that Jefferson considered Baptist church government the only form of pure democracy which then existed in the world and concluded, eight or ten years before the American Revolution, that this would be the best plan of government for the American colonies. Baptist influence in Virginia made possible the statute of religious freedom, of which Jefferson thought it an honor to be author. A Baptist committee laid its complaints before the Massachusetts delegates of the first Continental

Congress. Baptists had a large share in securing the adoption of that memorable article of our national Constitution, which provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." And, finally, Baptists, more than any other denomination of Christians, by their persistent advocacy, brought Congress to propose, and the States to accept, just one hundred years ago, that famous first amendment to the Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." If we could now only secure the insertion in both the Federal and the State Constitutions of a provision that no public money shall ever be appropriated to sectarian institutions, the record of American Baptists would be complete.

Little by little the principle of religious liberty has made its way, until now the last vestige of a church establishment has been erased from our statute-books. The lingering relics of proscriptive legislation were not swept away in Connecticut till 1818, and in Massachusetts until 1833. But now these United States stand before the world as the embodiment of the voluntary principle in religion. This is the significance thus far of American Christianity. God brought our fathers out from the iron furnace and from the house of bondage, in order that he might bring us in, to a freedom both political and spiritual, such as the world has never seen before. It is seen nowhere else to-day but in America, and in the newer English colonies which have copied America's example. Everywhere else there still remain establishments or restrictions or partialities, which inter-

fere with the free exercise and propagation of religious faith.

In Great Britain, Spurgeon may give to his Tabernacle, if he will, but if he own agricultural land he must pay tithes for the support of the Episcopal rector of his parish, whether he will or no. France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, give nominal freedom to all faiths. But France gives special aid to certain faiths; while other faiths receive no aid, but must seek the special permission of the police. Germany has an established church in every kingdom belonging to the empire; Switzerland in every canton belonging to the republic; while both Germany and Switzerland shut out the Jesuits. Italy acknowledges Roman Catholicism as the religion of the State, and it makes its annual dotation to the pope. Spain professes to tolerate all religions, but only Roman Catholicism is the religion of the State; and all meetings held by other religionists must be held in private houses, without placard or advertisement or bell, to indicate their existence to the outside world. Five years ago I visited Vienna, the capital of the Austrian Empire. I sought the little Baptist church. No directory could give me information as to its whereabouts. The pastor of a Presbyterian chapel volunteered to conduct me. We passed through the court of what seemed a gentleman's dwelling. We knocked upon a door which had no sign upon it to distinguish it from any other door. We waited till a bolt was withdrawn. We entered a passageway, and at length emerged in a room of moderate size, where thirty or forty German believers were gathered. They could not look upon us graciously, until they found that we were not detectives or

officers of the police. But what is the anxiety of the feeble band of Baptists in Austria, compared with the harrowing uncertainty that attends the life of the Stundists, or of the Jews, in Russia!

Toleration is not liberty. Establishments are not liberty. Nothing is liberty but absolute equality of all faiths before the law. Toward this ideal Europe has been advancing. The abolition of the temporal power of the pope, the accomplished unity of the two great States, Italy and Germany, the sober and prosperous experience of twenty years in France under the republic, the disestablishment of the Irish Church—these are great achievements indeed, but they mark stages of progress which in the United States we have left far behind us. The democratic spirit is moving everywhere among the nations. But here it is triumphant. And the separation of Church and State has harmed neither of the two; but, where State aid has wholly ceased, religion has prospered as never before. Our one hundred thousand ministers of various denominations, our one hundred and forty thousand churches, our twenty million communicants in a population but little greater than thrice their number,¹—these are results of the voluntary system which challenge the attention and the emulation of the world, and demonstrate the truth of Wordsworth's verse, that

Mightier far than strength of nerve and sinew,
Or the sway of magic potent over sun and star,
Is LOVE.

¹ These statistics, though put in round numbers and correct when the address was delivered, are allowed to stand, as they sufficiently illustrate the point.

Let us be grateful, but let us also be humble. We are only at the beginning of our experiment. Here, in this last land of the temperate zone that can be occupied by man, the trial of the free Church in the free State is being conducted on a scale never before possible in human history. All the nations of the earth are sifted among us for material to work on. All the nations of the earth are accessible to our commerce. Standing midway between Europe and Asia as we do, the world is looking on, to watch our success or failure. Let us remember that faith and freedom will not preserve themselves; that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; that we must hold fast what God has given us, if we are not to see it snatched from our grasp forever. Let us remember that no people ever yet kept their liberty by confining its blessings to themselves; that the free Church in a free State is ours only to make the whole race of man partakers of it; that America can never fulfill the divine idea in her existence unless she stands at the gateway of the nations holding forth the word of life, not only to our own but to other lands, like another and grander statue of "Liberty enlightening the world."

OUR BAPTIST ADVANTAGE IN AMERICA¹

It is well to encourage one another in God. We have undertaken a great enterprise, comparable only to the conquest of the world by the apostles. We have set out to subdue this country to the Baptist Faith. It is desirable to count the cost, and see whether with ten thousand we are able to meet those who come against us with twenty thousand. I propose, therefore, to consider OUR BAPTIST ADVANTAGE IN AMERICA. Let us look at some of its elements, and then at the responsibility which it lays upon us.

First: It is our Baptist advantage that we rest our doctrine of the ordinances solely on New Testament prescription and example. Believing that Scripture is the supreme authority in matters of religious belief and practice, we go directly to the Scriptures and ask only what the Scriptures teach. Other denominations of Christians err, as we think, in recognizing other sources of doctrine in addition to this one infallible standard. The practice of the church or the decisions of church councils are regarded as binding also. But we care nothing for the Fathers; we trust only the grandfathers—the apostles themselves. The written word, what saith it? It is a plain word, designed for common

¹ An address before the New York Baptist State Convention, Gloversville, N. Y., October 26, 1892.

people; the wayfaring man may read even while he runs; he does not need commentaries or explanations in order to understand its essential teachings. It is a great advantage that our best campaign document is the Bible—the most widely circulated book in the world; in fact, all we have to do, and all we desire to do, is to get people to read and follow the Bible. There is our rock and our defense, and the rock stands foursquare 'gainst all the winds that blow. Scholarship examines that rock, but only reveals more and more clearly how impregnable it is.

Lest these should seem unwarranted assertions, I quote some utterances from men of other Faiths than our own, men of the highest rank in exegesis and in history, men who speak of what has been to them the study of a lifetime. Dr. Philip Schaff, of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, declares:— “Respecting the form of baptism, the impartial historian is compelled by exegesis and history substantially to yield the point to the Baptists.” “The baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and the illustrations of baptism used in the New Testament, are all in favor of immersion, rather than of sprinkling, as is freely admitted by the best exegetes, Catholics and Protestants, English and German.” Professor George P. Fisher, of the Yale Divinity School, thus expresses himself: “Baptism, it is now generally agreed among scholars, was commonly administered by immersion.” The latest and most brilliant investigator of early church history is Professor Harnack of Berlin. He tells us that “*Baptizein* undoubtedly signifies *immersion*. No proof can be found that it signifies anything else in the New Testament

and in the most ancient Christian literature." No one can doubt the impartiality of the late Dean Stanley. Dean Stanley speaks of immersion as "the primitive, apostolical, and till the 13th century the universal, mode of baptism, which is still retained throughout the eastern churches, and which is still in our own church [the Church of England] as positively enjoined in theory, as it is universally neglected in practice." "The change from immersion to sprinkling," he says, "has set aside the larger part of the apostolic language regarding baptism, and has altered the very meaning of the word."

Here is suggested the reason why Baptists can never consent to any form of administering the ordinance but that which Christ enjoined. Baptism, like the Lord's Supper, is a *teaching* ordinance. It is a pictorial proclamation and declaration of the death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord. Equally with the preaching of Christ's atoning death from the pulpit, it sets forth the great sacrifice of Christ for our salvation. The first and most important thing taught by baptism is, not the spiritual death and resurrection of the *believer* with Christ, but rather *Christ's own* death for our sins and resurrection for our justification. And this meaning of the ordinance is just as clearly taught in Scripture, as that baptism is simply and only immersion. Said Luther, the great Reformer, "Baptism is a sign both of death and resurrection. Being moved by this reason, I would have those that are baptized to be altogether dipped into the water, as the word means, and the mystery signifies." In the English Church during this last century there has been no greater scholar than Lightfoot, the late Bishop of Durham. These are his words :

Baptism is the grave of the old man and the birth of the new—an image of the believer's participation both in the death and in the resurrection of Christ. . . . As he sinks beneath the baptismal waters, the believer buries there all his corrupt affections and past sins; as he emerges thence, he rises regenerate, quickened to new hopes and a new life.

With these testimonies before us, I think it must be conceded that, Pedobaptists themselves being the judges, Baptists have the advantage of a clear New Testament foundation.

Secondly: It is our Baptist advantage that we make the relation of the believer to the church depend on, follow, and express his previous relation to Christ. We hold that men are saved, not by union with the church, but by union with Christ. We make Christ, not the church, central. The church is only the outward expression of the common life of believers in Christ. The new life in Christ comes first, and only then comes membership in the church. Baptism does not *make* people Christians; it is rather their profession that they *are already* Christians. Instead of baptism being a means of salvation, a man must be saved before he has any right to be baptized. Not baptism therefore, but a regenerate church-membership, is the central and fundamental tenet of our Baptist Faith. And this is simply to say that we admit to church-membership only those who give credible evidence of having been already spiritually united to Christ. The church is an outgrowth of Christ. Hence we dare not say, with the Westminster Confession, that the church "consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, *together with their children.*" We dare not bap-

tize those who, like infants, give no sign that they are regenerate. The church is Christ's body, and we can admit to its ordinances only those who show that they are one with Christ, that his Spirit is dwelling within them, and that they have with their Saviour died to sin and risen to newness of life. Only to such can baptism or the Lord's Supper be anything but an empty form.

This principle that the church is to represent Christ, and that it is to contain only those who are spiritually joined to Christ, is of immeasurable importance. The neglect of it in the times of Constantine almost destroyed the church. Infant baptism swept into it vast multitudes of the unregenerate, until its early spirituality was lost and it fell an easy prey to the Roman hierarchy. The neglect of it after the Reformation undid almost all the results of that great revival of religion. Infant baptism again flooded the church with godlessness, identified it with the world, and infected it in every part with a skepticism and formality from which it has not yet been delivered. Why is it, on the other hand, that Baptists, without any iron wheel of outward organization,—a very rope of sand exposed at every moment to the rolling waves,—have been able to hold the truth, and to hold together, more perfectly than any other body of believers in Christendom? I give both the fact and the explanation in the words of men who are not Baptists, but whose utterances carry weight everywhere. In a recent letter which I received from Dr. William G. T. Shedd, that stalwart Presbyterian and eminent theologian said to me :

Among the denominations we all look to the Baptists for steady and firm adherence to sound doctrine. You have never had any

internal doctrinal conflicts, and from year to year you present an undivided front in defense of the Calvinistic faith. Having no judicatures, and regarding the local church as the unit, it is remarkable that you maintain such a unity and solidarity of belief.

There is the *fact*. And Dr. J. L. Withrow of Chicago, one of the ablest of our Congregational brethren, gives us the *explanation*. He says, to our credit :

There is not a denomination of evangelical Christians that is throughout as sound theologically as the Baptist denomination. There is not an evangelical denomination in America to-day that is as true to the simple plain gospel of God, as it is revealed in the word, as is the Baptist denomination.

I think, therefore, that we may fairly claim the advantage of a doctrine which binds the church and Christ indissolubly together.

Thirdly: It is our Baptist advantage that we have always stood for the absolute separation of Church and State, and have done much to secure this freedom for America and for the world. From the beginning we have maintained that the Church should be completely independent of the State. Our doctrine of civil and religious liberty grows directly out of our doctrine of the direct relation of the individual Christian to Christ, Christ is the only Lawgiver, the only Lord of the conscience. There can be no rightful human lordship over God's heritage. Since each local church is directly subject to Christ, there is no jurisdiction of one church over another, but all are on an equal footing, and all are independent of interference or control by the civil power. Absolute liberty of conscience under Christ has always been a distinguishing tenet of Baptists.

Again and again have Baptists suffered persecution, but they have never persecuted. In Switzerland, when Zwingli, following the example of Luther, turned aside from the simple faith of the New Testament and for political reasons subjected the Church to the State, the Anabaptists, in 1527, issued the first public Confession in which Christian men claimed absolute religious freedom for themselves and granted absolute religious freedom to others.

In England, as appears from the testimony of John Knox, there were Anabaptists who claimed entire freedom of conscience in 1560, twenty-two years before the "Confession" of the Congregationalist, Robert Browne. And in Rhode Island, in 1636, the Baptist Roger Williams instituted the first government on earth organized upon the principle of absolute freedom to all belief and practice not conflicting with good order and morals. So Baptists first announced the principle of religious liberty in Switzerland; Baptists first advocated it in England; a Baptist first established it in America.

Here too, I prefer to let others speak for us. John Locke, a hundred years before our American Independence, declared that "The Baptists were the first and only propounders of absolute liberty, just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty." Of Roger Williams, George Bancroft says :

He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert the doctrine of liberty of conscience in religion. . . Freedom of conscience was from the first a trophy of the Baptists.

John Fiske, referring to the views of Roger Williams, writes thus :

Such views are to-day quite generally adopted by the more civilized portions of the Protestant world ; but it is needless to say that they were not the views of the seventeenth century, in Massachusetts or elsewhere.

And Leonard Bacon says of Baptist churches :

It has been claimed for these churches that, from the age of the Reformation onward, they have been always foremost and always consistent in maintaining the doctrine of religious liberty. Let me not be understood as calling in question their right to so great an honor.

And yet with a great price have they obtained this freedom. Their history is written in blood. Hundreds of Baptists have been hanged, drowned, burned at the stake, often leaving such testimony as Terwoort the Fleming gave in England in 1575 : "They who have the one true gospel doctrine and faith will persecute no one, but will themselves be persecuted." In this land, which Baptists more than any other denomination of Christians have made a land of liberty, we have a great advantage in being able to point back to a glorious history of faithfulness in spite of persecution. Having brought the Christian world so far toward the acknowledgment of the principles of our faith, we may take courage as we look forward to the future.

Fourthly : It is our Baptist advantage that, in spite of small beginnings, frequent persecutions, and unpopular doctrine, we have multiplied more rapidly than any other body of Christians in America. The blood of the martyrs has certainly been the seed of the church. Exclusion from the privileges of the ruling order has thrown our people back upon the promise and the power

of Christ. When Hezekiah Smith was "warned off from God's earth" by the sheriff of Haverhill, Massachusetts; when Obadiah Holmes was whipped unmercifully in the streets of Boston; when Baptists who would not have their infant children baptized were fined two thousand pounds of tobacco in Virginia,—these barbarities only made them more spiritual and more intent upon the salvation of men's souls. Their steadfastness and faith began to impress the whole population. After the great revival under Edwards and Whitefield there came a great reaction in New England, and the orthodox churches were in imminent danger of going over to Unitarianism. But, though scores of orthodox ministers apostatized, not one Baptist minister forsook the faith, and not one Baptist church became Unitarian. On the contrary, the Baptist churches and ministers stood as an immovable rock in Boston, until the tide of heresy ebbed, and the danger was past. That faithfulness revealed to thousands the strength of our Baptist position, and the weakness of pedobaptism. There resulted a new searching of the Scriptures. We entered on a period of marvelous growth and progress.

Mr. Vedder, in his excellent "Short History of the Baptists," has called the years from 1776 to 1845 "the period of missions and of expansion." It is doubtful whether any body of Christians ever grew so rapidly. In 1776, Baptists numbered not more than one in one hundred of the population; in 1892 they number one in twenty-one. At the close of the Revolutionary War, we had only three churches west of the Alleghenies; now we have twenty-one thousand five hundred and forty. Our fifty thousand members have, in little more than a

century, become three million two hundred and sixty-nine thousand. While the five millions of population which the country had in 1776 have increased twelve-fold, the fifty thousand Baptists have increased sixty-fold. Like our beloved and honored Methodist brethren, we have sought to win the people, and to preach the gospel to the poor. We have not often had an "apostle to the genteels," but we have had many missionaries on the frontiers. And a blessing has attended our work. We stand next to the Methodists in point of numbers in America, but our ratio of increase during the last few decades has been nearly two per cent. greater than theirs. If we continue to advance at the present rate, we shall soon outstrip them; while the Congregationalists and Episcopalians with but one-seventh, and the Presbyterians with but one-third of our numbers, have but little chance of outstripping us.¹

We have multiplied marvelously not only at home but abroad. This is the centenary year of Baptist missions to the heathen. Just a hundred years ago William Carey's zeal and energy led to the establishment of the English Baptist Missionary Society. It is not eighty years since our American Baptist missionary work began. And yet in these four-fifths of a century we have reached a point where we count seventy-four mission stations, four hundred and seventeen missionaries, two thousand and thirty native pastors and helpers, one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine mission churches, and one hundred and sixty-three thousand eight hundred

¹ The statistics of course are those that were correct when the address was delivered. The proportions would remain about the same if the figures were brought up to date.

and eighty-one members,—results more than twice as great as any other Protestant missionary body can show, and yet results achieved by contributions on our part amounting, alas, to not more than one-third to one-half what other single denominations contribute and expend. To estimate what has been accomplished we must remember also the marked decline in the number of infant baptisms in Pedobaptist churches,—amounting to a decrease of more than one-third in fifty years. Here is evidence that our protest against this unscriptural and pernicious practice has made deep impression upon our brethren in other folds: and that, as the separation of Church and State has been effected in America largely by Baptist instrumentality, so the abolition of that infant baptism which ever tends to the merging of the Church in the State may yet follow, if Baptists are faithful to their Lord. It is not too much to say that the remarkable increase of our numbers where we have been thus faithful, and the gradual disintegration of our churches where as in England the Baptist principle has been compromised, gives us a great advantage in our proclamation of the unadulterated truth of Scripture.

Fifthly: It is our Baptist advantage that we have a polity analogous to that of our republic, and therefore adapted to win the increasing favor of loyal Americans. What I mean is that we represent in the Church that same principle of equality and freedom which we cherish so greatly in the State. Our church government is democratic or congregational. Since every member of the church is a member of Christ, he has a right to interpret Christ's will for himself, and to have an equal voice in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. It is not

wonderful that Baptist church government should agree with republican civil government, for Baptists had much to do with shaping our national Constitution. No man had greater influence in framing our fundamental law, and no man's word as to the other influences which made that law what it is can be more authoritative than that of Thomas Jefferson. And yet Thomas Jefferson declared that "he considered Baptist church government the only form of pure democracy which then existed in the world," and that he "had concluded, eight or ten years before the American Revolution, that it would be the best plan of government for the American Colonies." Baptists had a large share in securing the adoption of that memorable article in our Constitution which provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." And finally, Baptists, more than any other denomination of Christians, by their persistent advocacy brought Congress to propose and the States to accept, just one hundred years ago, that famous first amendment to the Constitution which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The priesthood of the individual believer and his sole responsibility to Christ, the right of every member to interpret Scripture for himself and to have a voice in the government and discipline of the church, and the principle that truth is to be put before unity and the church to be first pure then peaceable, all these are wonderfully analogous to the characteristics of our civil polity. That very tenet of faith which is so much

spoken against—our tenet of restricted communion—is the precise parallel to a cherished principle of our government,—the principle that foreigners cannot enjoy the elective franchise and other privileges of citizenship until they have been naturalized. Since baptism is the rite by which men are made citizens of the kingdom, we cannot grant to them the privileges of the kingdom until they have been baptized. He who claims that persons have a right to commune before they have been baptized should also hold that all emigrants from abroad must be permitted to vote before they have become citizens. I am glad to be able to quote Dr. John Hall, that staunch Presbyterian of New York City, in defense of this position. He expresses himself as follows, “If I believed, with the Baptists, that none are baptized but those who are immersed on profession of faith, I should, with them, refuse to commune with any others.” And Dr. A. A. Hodge, in his “Systematic Theology,” declares that

The faith and practice of all the evangelical churches is that the communion is designed only for believers, and therefore that a credible profession of faith and obedience should be required of every applicant.

We claim that our church government resembles our civil government in cultivating the spirit of freedom. Ritualism and prelacy benumb and enslave, and you cannot make men spiritual without making them also free. The late Dr. Dexter, one of the most eminent Congregationalists of the country, said that “to spiritualize and evangelize Romanism or High Churchism would be to Congregationalize it.” And since Baptists are

the most Congregational of the Congregationalists, we may say boldly that, just in proportion as hereditary and ritualistic churches are spiritualized, will they approach the Baptist polity. Now I do not believe that America will ever be less democratic than it is to-day. Revolutions never go backward, and the republican principle has come to stay. Instead of contracting our bounds, we are more likely to widen them, until British America, Cuba,¹ and South America have the flag of the free waving over them. The spirit of this Columbian year is the spirit of pride in our government and of gratitude for our institutions. I cannot believe that, with the world's progress toward the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of republican forms of government, we are ever to be seduced from our political creed by the glamour of despotism. And can any one think that, with this universal tendency toward liberty in the State, the country or the world is going backward to despotism in the Church? Has prelacy any future in America? Are our people going to accept centralized or hierarchical government in religion, when they pride themselves more and more on their independence in politics? To ask the question is to answer it. Baptists have the great advantage in America of a church polity whose principles are analogous to the principles of our free civil government.

Sixthly: It is our Baptist advantage that we hold to a freedom of individual interpretation and opinion, which makes us capable of unlimited expansion with the expansion of the land in which we live. Monarchies need

¹The speaker had no thought that the fulfillment of a portion of this prophecy was so near at hand.

to be limited in extent. But it is not so with republics. Representation and freedom solve all difficulties. And what limit need there be to the growth of a denomination, so long as there is no common government and every member of it has the right of private judgment? With us there are no creeds which bind our faith and serve as a human standard to which we must conform. Our only standard is the New Testament, and that every member may interpret for himself. We have no church courts with their gradations and successive appeals; there is no hierarchy or authority superior to the local body of believers; there are no oaths of conformity or prosecutions for heresy. We recognize not only the right, but also the duty, of a progressive knowledge of Scripture and of a more perfect statement of doctrine. With John Smyth, that excellent Baptist who died at Amsterdam in 1612, we say, "I profess I have changed, and shall be ready still to change, for the better"; and, with John Robinson in his farewell address to the Pilgrim Fathers, "I am verily persuaded that the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth from his holy word." While other denominations have difficulty in adapting themselves to new surroundings and new phases of thought, the Baptist denomination has no Catechisms nor Confessions to bind it, but can freely adopt new measures or new ideas, as new study of the Bible and new needs of the times may require.

The Christian denominations may be likened to the runners in a torch race, in which each contestant tries to replace his light when it threatens to go out, and so by successive kindlings bring his torch first to the goal. The runner who is fettered by precedents, or who has

to go in beaten tracks, may be easily outstripped. But he who can bestow all his labor and pains on the preservation and dissemination of his light will get most illumination on his way. To us Baptists belongs, as we believe, the faith once for all delivered to the saints, and it is our duty to hand it down through the ages, and to increase its volume and influence as it goes. The absence of ecclesiastical and confessional hindrances gives us an advantage in this torch race of the ages. If we are but faithful, we can meet emergencies and expand with the times, as can no other denomination of the Christian world.

Seventhly, and lastly, it is our Baptist advantage that we hold to a principle that limits and safeguards this individual freedom,—a principle of stability,—the principle of direct and entire obedience to Christ. While we are an absolute democracy so far as respects the interpretation of his will, we are an absolute monarchy so far as respects direct obedience to that will itself. Freedom is not enough. Every institution that is to last must also have law. In our American Revolution we won our liberty; in our great Civil War we made that liberty permanent by making it a liberty regulated by law. Here is the greatest advantage of Baptists,—they hold first, last, and always, to the supreme and absolute dominion of Christ. His word is our only standard of truth; his love is our only motive of action; his will is our only rule of duty. We recognize that all our hopes will be empty and vain except as Christ himself by his personal and omnipotent Spirit dwells and reigns within us. External advantages will be as valueless to us as to the Jewish nation was the possession of

the oracles of God, unless with the external advantages there be given to us grace to be obedient. My observations among our German Baptists in Europe have convinced me that they have made such astonishing headway, not simply because of the truth they have preached, but because of the spiritual lives they have lived. And so in America,—we shall continue to make headway, if we are but faithful.

If we are but faithful! This suggests that there are responsibilities as well as advantages, duties as well as privileges. The question has perhaps occurred to some who have heard me whether I expect that the whole world will ultimately become Baptist. To this I have two replies: first, that Baptist doctrine is probably not the whole of truth, and therefore the final church and creed may be something more than what at present we call Baptist; but secondly, that Baptist doctrine is just as certainly an important part of God's revealed will, and therefore to be embraced without curtailment or diminution in that final sum of triumphant truth which is to be the heritage and Confession of the church universal. If we do not believe this, then we have no right to be Baptists at all. If our doctrine is merely an indifferent or optional matter, a human opinion but not a divine prescription, then it is schism and a rending of the body of Christ for us to maintain a separate existence. But, being convinced that we have the truth of God, it would be cowardice and blasphemy to doubt that this truth of God will triumph. There are indeed other communions that number more than ours. But in the words of Edward Johnson's "Wonderworking Providence of Zion's Saviour," written in the dark

year 1634, we can say: "The Lord intends to achieve greater matters by this little handful than the world is aware of." The kingdom of truth is sure to come,—that is our confidence and comfort. But then it is equally sure that the kingdom is near or far, just in proportion to the faith and love and devotion of those to whom this truth is committed to keep and to propagate.

Faithfulness to Christ requires of us three things: Education, Union, and Evangelization. I think of these three respectively as activities of the mind, the affections, and the will; and as tending to bring man's mind and heart and will into conformity with the truth, the love, and the holiness of God. As God is truth, it is our duty to know the truth, and that implies the obligation to educate ourselves and to care for the education of others. The educational revival that has marked the last quarter of a century is a proof that God is with us,—it is an augury that God is going to give us the kingdom. The single new University of Chicago has a larger property than belonged twenty years ago to all our Baptist colleges and theological seminaries put together. But many millions more will be required to meet the needs of the growing West, and to educate the masses of our colored brethren at the South. In spite of our great growth in the country at large, we are still very weak in some of our great cities, and it should cause us shame and confusion of face that in the metropolis of the State and of the country, with its contiguous populations the second greatest city of the world and numbering three millions, Baptists have up to the present time not the vestige of any institution of

learning! If we withhold our hands from giving, our rapid growth may be followed by as rapid a decline. With our provision of education, however, there must go also the spirit of freedom,—liberty to follow truth to the farthest bounds of thought. Soul-liberty, under bonds to none but Christ and his word, has been in the past the secret of Baptist success and progress. If any man assumes to impose his authority upon the free spirit and to dictate what we shall believe, let Baptist blood arise and Baptist courage answer: "Who are you, to interpose between me and Christ? To my Master alone I stand or fall!"

The second thing which faithfulness to Christ requires is Union. We are to hold the truth in love. The love of God is to be shed abroad in us. And, as truth leads to education, so love leads to union. We are to cooperate with our brethren in every good word and work. The constant exhortations to unity in the New Testament proceed upon the supposition that Christ dwells in all believers. Baptist polity is the best possible polity for good people. Christ has made no provision for an unregenerate church-membership and for the Satanic possession of Christians. It is best that a church in which Christ does not dwell should by disension reveal its weakness and fall to pieces; and any outward organization that conceals inward disintegration and compels a merely formal union, after the love of Christ has departed, is a hindrance instead of a help to true religion. How vast the change when that love takes possession of hearts that were once cold! The church becomes a Christian family once more, and all the world begins to say: "See how these Christians

love one another." The host of God that had been scattered and ineffective, like soldiers bivouacked for the night, comes together and stands once more in battle array, mighty either for defense or attack. I can but think that the new impulse to come together in State Conventions, to form Social Unions, to organize our young people for Christian work, and to mass the strength and contributions of our women, is indicative of an increase of Christian love. When God's people begin to take pleasure in the scattered stones of his spiritual temple, and to favor even the dust thereof, it is an evidence that God is about to arise and have mercy upon Zion, and that the time for him to favor her, yea the set time, is come.

And the last thing which faithfulness requires—the thing indeed to which all my address thus far has been aiming to lead you—is Evangelization. It is peculiarly an activity of the will, in bringing the world into conformity with holiness of God. We are set to save men from their sins, and to lead them to submit to Christ. It is our vocation on earth to promote God's cause. To it we are to give our money, our time, our personal effort. What motives urge us forward! A century of progress at home and abroad such as the world has never seen before, missionary enterprises crowned with blessing surpassing that of Pentecost, our churches growing in wealth and influence at a rate that would have seemed incredible to the fathers,—ah, these are things not to make us proud, but to make us humble! The little one has become a thousand, indeed; but unless we do for God a thousand times more than the fathers did, our blessing will be our curse.

But let us not doubt that God will give us grace to meet the opportunity. We have come to the kingdom for just such a time as this. This Empire State, with its commercial supremacy and its almost boundless resources, is given us that we may make it Christ's empire, and a base of operations for subduing the country and the world to his sway. To us Baptists much has been given,—let us remember that from us much shall be required. We have advantages belonging to no other body of Christians in America,—we may do more than any other to capture America for Christ. Methinks I see the Lord, once crucified for us. With hands that yet bear the prints of the nails, he holds out an immortal crown. He praises us that we have thus far kept his word and have not denied his name. He tells us that he has set before us an open door, which no man can shut. He bids us be faithful unto death as our fathers were faithful. As we have freely received, so he commands us freely to give. And to each one of us personally and individually he says: "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no one take thy crown!"

THE DECREE OF GOD THE GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT TO MISSIONS¹

FATHERS AND BRETHREN :—I count it a great and undeserved honor that I am called to preside over the meetings of the American Baptist Missionary Union. My predecessors in the chair have been men greatly revered and beloved, and I shrink from the attempt to follow them. Two things, however, give me encouragement. The first is that in becoming your president I enter into the heritage of many prayers, past and present, for the officers and servants of the Union. The second is that I know I may rely upon your kind and cordial co-operation.

Both the place and the time in which we meet should give us stimulus and hope. The star of Christ's empire has been taking its way westward, and in this meeting the Missionary Union holds its first session in the Mountain States. Herein it asserts its claim to the boundless continent, and makes tributary to missions the invention, the commerce, the resources of these rising commonwealths. Never before have we met so near to the setting sun. It is a proof that Baptists new and old, east and west, recognize their oneness in Christ and their common obligation to make our whole land a missionary to the whole world.

¹ Opening address of the president at the seventy-ninth anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Denver, May 26, 1893.

What a time is this! We stand at the end of the first century of Baptist missions. One hundred years ago we were a feeble folk both at home and abroad. But God put into the heart of William Carey the impulse to carry the gospel to the heathen, and missions have been our salvation. "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth." While we have accomplished more in the foreign field than any other American evangelical denomination, our growth at home has also been more rapid than that of any other. We enter upon our second century with numbers and wealth marvelously increased. We have material resources of which the fathers never dreamed.

Have we the liberality and the faith to use these resources aright? This has been the test question of the last twelve-month. Until this year, in spite of the fact that God had given us twice as many converts as any other Society could show, more than one other Society could point to contributions twice as great as ours. In our centennial year we have sought to rectify this great deficiency. Our million dollar enterprise was simply our effort to make our gifts to God correspond more nearly to God's gifts to us. It is a wonder that we have succeeded so well; how well, the Chairman of the Centennial Committee will inform you; enough for me to say that we have with God's help given more than we ever gave before; we have added ninety-one per cent. to the contributions of the preceding year; we have paid our heavy debt; we have secured funds for a considerable enlargement of our work. We have proof that God is with us. We are encouraged to believe that temporal prosperity will not be permitted to ruin us, and

to trust that God will give us a liberal heart so that our great gains may be made a means of promoting the progress of his kingdom.

The alternations of hope and fear through which many of us have passed during the last few months have suggested to me the subject to which I would lead your thoughts in this opening address. I have felt that we must build our hopes on something more solid than money and more permanent than popular excitement. Financial panic may sweep away our wealth; transient bursts of enthusiasm may be succeeded by comparative apathy. The grounds of our hope are not in man but in God. I wish to point you this morning to one of these permanent grounds of hope, and I state as the theme of my remarks: The Purpose of God to give the World to Christ is the great Encouragement to Missions.

There is such a thing as the plan of God. Our restless age, with its pushing, its hurry, its change, has had but little time or inclination to think of the divine decrees. In days of persecution and defeat men think much of God; in days of success and triumph they think much of themselves. But occasionally, in an interval of the world's turmoil, we hear the still small voice; we stop in the midst of the rush, and rejoice that there is something fixed; that behind the phenomenal there is the noumenal; that underneath the temporal there is the eternal. However men may come and go, God is forever and ever the same. Whatever men may imagine or plan, there are decrees of God, as eternal and unchangeable as himself. The universe is the unfolding of God's plan; unless the humblest crea-

ture and the minutest event are embraced in that plan, the universe is no longer a universe—an ordered whole—but a dreary haphazard conglomeration; unless there is,

One God who ever lives and loves,
 One God, one law, one element,
 And one far-off divine event
 Toward which the whole creation moves,

the progress of the world is as dreadful as the driving on into midnight darkness of an express train, without headlight or engineer, and sure to plunge sooner or later into the abyss. But if there is a great divine purpose, and if God works all things according to the counsel of his own will, we have an anchor to the soul sure and steadfast, that entereth into that within the veil. No storm can wreck our peace, since our faith holds to the immovable rock of God's wisdom and truth and love.

All this would be true even if we did not know what that purpose was. Job could trust God though he could not interpret him. But we are better off than Job: we have an interpreter of the divine counsels. In the second Psalm there is One who says: "I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." There is One who perfectly knows God's purpose and whose mission it is to declare it. This is the meaning of that fifth chapter of Revelation in which, as in the second Psalm, heaven is opened to our view. In the blaze of the divine Majesty and in the right hand of God himself there is a book sealed with seven seals. It is the book

of God's decrees. There is weeping because no man nor angel can loose the seals or open the book. But at last One who sits on the right hand of God rises from his place of equality with God, takes the book from God's own hand, and makes known the mystery of God. In Christ then we have the revelation of the divine purpose. The omniscient Saviour, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Lamb that was slain, he in whom gentleness and glory, sacrifice and power meet, he alone can read or declare the decrees of God. Let us weep not, for Christ hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seven seals thereof.

To declare the divine decree is not simply to proclaim it,—it is to execute it also. In the second Psalm the Son is bidden not only to ask for power, but to exercise power. The chapters that follow that fifth chapter of the book of Revelation only describe Christ's opening of one seal after another, and his translation of God's decrees into the actualities of history. He who is omniscient to read every secret word of the book of God's decrees, is also omnipresent and omnipotent to turn that word into living reality, and to fulfill every letter of it. All the ongoings of the physical, intellectual, and moral universe, therefore, are Christ's fulfillments of the efficient or of the permissive decree of God. I am bound to see Christ in nature, executing the divine will and revealing the divine wisdom in the unfailing regularity of physical law. Doubt that there is design in nature? Why, nature is nothing but design! Seas and stars, the firmament and the floods, are nothing but a thin veil that hides the all-working Christ, in whom all things consist, and the whole universe holds together. Ought

I indeed to say that these things hide him? Are they not the very mind and thought of Christ made visible to me, just as the human face or the human words reveal the thinking feeling soul within?

For lo ! creation's self is one great choir,
And what is nature's order but the rhyme
Whereto the worlds keep time,
And all things move with all things from their prime.

Yes, William Watson's verse has in it more of truth than he himself intended; for nature, though only a partial revelation, is yet a real revelation of Christ, and of the thought and wisdom and will of God in him.

Human history is in like manner Christ's execution of the eternal purpose of God. Through the free wills of men, with all their cross-purposes and their ill intents, another mightier will is fulfilling itself, compelling the evil in spite of itself to serve the good, and making the wrath of man to praise the holy God. Society, with its confusion and strife and injustice, is like the buzzing and disorder of a hive of bees. As the bees come and go, each bound on its own mission, they have no idea to what end they labor; yet all unconsciously they are building up the symmetrical structure of the honeycomb that witnesses to a higher wisdom working through them. Men work in a similar way, without thought of any beyond themselves, but Christ reduces their selfish and warring activities to harmony, and brings out a great result of which they never dreamed. Christ is "the Light that lighteth every man." All reason and conscience, all science and philosophy, all civilization and education, all society and government,

in short, all the wheels by which the world moves forward toward its goal have a living spirit within the wheels, and that living spirit is Christ, declaring, unfolding, and executing the decrees of God. Christ, the Son of man, is the throbbing heart of humanity, and all humanity feels the pulsations of his love and power.

If this is true in creation and providence, much more is it true in redemption. Here too Christ is the great executor of the divine plans. We begin our Christian lives fancying that it is we that have chosen Christ; after a time we learn the meaning of his words: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." We find that we cannot hold on in our Christian way alone; it dawns upon us that without his guidance we never could have gotten into that way at the first: conversion would have been impossible without regeneration.

Why was I made to hear thy voice
 And enter while there's room,
 When thousands make a wretched choice
 And rather starve than come?

'Twas the same love that spread the feast
 That gently forced me in;
 Else I had still refused to taste
 And perished in my sin.

I never should have come to God at all, if it had not been for God's decree of electing grace and Christ's execution of that decree when he came to me in my sins and entered my heart with his renewing power. And why should we think that the world will be renovated in any other way? When I think of the occasional dissensions among missionaries, and the occasional falls of

ministers of the gospel, I am convinced that a mightier power than that of man must be at work, or the church of Christ would long since have collapsed and died. In the Papal Manufactory of Mosaics at Rome I once saw an artist fitting and polishing rough bits of stone of many shapes and colors, and with them constructing a face of Christ that exactly reproduced the head of the Saviour in the Transfiguration of Raphael. But Christ himself is doing a greater work than that. He is taking the rough stones of humanity all about us, and is not only making them individually into children of Abraham, but out of them collectively he is building up a redeemed humanity that reflects his own glorious image. Christ's method is that of joining himself to corporate humanity; and the last seal of the book of God's decrees will not be opened until Christ has gone forth conquering and to conquer through all the earth and has subdued to himself the last rebellious soul of man. And when the day of that consummation dawns, redeemed humanity will not look over the walls and towers of the New Jerusalem and say: "This is great Babylon that we have built;" but will rather cry: "Not unto us, not unto us, but to thy name give glory!" and will ascribe the power and the salvation to God and to the Lamb.

But the process by which the world is thus renewed and transformed into the church is not a mechanical, but rather, a biological one. Christ takes hold of humanity not from without but from within. We do not make void the law of human activity, when we rest all our hopes upon the purpose of God to give the world to Christ. Nay, rather, we establish that law. The Christ

who fulfills the decrees of God is not separable from the church. Christ has a body, and that body is his people. In human salvation he has limited himself by joining himself to the church. As my soul can work only by using my physical organism, brain and tongue and hands, so Christ under the limitations which he has assumed can work only through his body, the church. Christ and his people are one, in a deeper and more real sense than we have ever imagined. We are his brain, his tongue, his hands, for translating the decrees of God into history. The "Ask of me" which God the Father addresses to God the Son, he addresses to all who have become sons of God through union with the only begotten Son, and the command is the church's summons to prayer. "Ask of me, and I will give," is God's assurance to the church that prayer uttered in the name of Christ shall not be in vain. "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession," is the promise that in answer to her prayer the whole world shall be given to the church.

Brethren, let us make an end of Antinomianism and hyper-Calvinism in missions. God's decrees and Christ's fulfillment of them no more dispense with our activity in the salvation of the world than they dispense with our activity in our own salvation. The world will never be saved until the church takes upon its lips the words "I will declare the decree: The Lord hath said unto me, This day have I begotten thee," and with the holy boldness born of conscious union with Christ its Lord begs God to give it the world for its possession. And just as Christ's declaring the decree is a declaration in *deed*

as well as in *word*, so the church's declaring the decree involves a fulfillment of it, by carrying the gospel to the farthest corners of the earth. God works through Christ, and Christ works through his church. God's decrees are not self-executing. God decrees, but his people must decree also. The decree of God will become effective only through the decree of the church. Only when the determination of the church to subdue the world to Christ comes to express the absolute and unchanging determination of God himself, will the enemy succumb and the gospel secure its triumph. Say not, O Church of Christ, that God works in you, and therefore you have no work to do in the saving of the world! In missions to the heathen, as in the conversion of the individual soul, you will find that God works in you to will and to do, only as you work out your own salvation. If his kingdom is ever to come, it must be by your doing his will on earth even as it is done in heaven.

There is a decree of Satan as well as a decree of God. When the kings of the earth set themselves against the Lord and against his Anointed, they only register the decree of the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that works in the children of disobedience. And so in our earthly battles invisible powers are struggling. Over against this decree of Satan we are to set the decree of God and of the church. The conflict between sin and holiness, between Satan and God, is a mighty one. Of ourselves we are utterly unequal to it. Every new year with its revelation of the increasing greatness of earth's populations, and the intensity of their opposition to God, makes the task more

appalling. But it is not the power of the enemy that should appall us,—it is the unbelief and inactivity of the church. *God* has determined to save the world, but *we* have not yet determined to save it. We have not yet set ourselves to do this thing. We have tried to compass both this world and the next. We have tried to serve God and Mammon. Christ has had to share with Belial. The troops we have sent to the field have been few and ill-equipped. The most they have been able to do is to capture a few outposts in the enemy's country. Victory will be ours only by our pouring into heathen lands such armies as in the Crusades sought to rescue Christ's sepulchre from the infidels, when all Europe seemed to empty itself into Asia.

There is an account of the battle of Sedan, in the Franco-Prussian war, which describes the tremendous energy and determination with which the Germans attacked a French position upon which depended the fate of the day. Regiment after regiment, brigade after brigade, of the best German soldiers advanced upon it, and as fast as they advanced were swept away by the dreadful fire. But still they came, came in greater and greater force, came till the whole country seemed a living mass of men. On they came, their ranks riddled with shot and shell, whole battalions annihilated, but the more that were killed the more there were to kill. Over the distant crest of the hills they still kept pouring on; for every thousand slain, ten thousand marched to take their places; till the spectacle became too fearful to endure; the French began to fancy that all the armies of the earth were combining to attack them; and with a sudden impulse and panic they forsook their

guns and fled. It will be so with the forces of our great adversary. When they once perceive that the whole church has devoted itself to subduing their rebellion, they will see in that determination the expression of God's decree, and will lay down their arms forever.

Plutarch, the heathen moralist, said well that "God is the brave man's hope, not the coward's excuse." When a general on the eve of battle rides along the line, assuring his troops of victory, his words do not soothe to slumber,—they nerve to action. Let the decrees of God in like manner encourage us in the work we have undertaken,—the work of bringing the world to Christ. Let us ponder the strength and immovableness of the divine purpose. It is more solid and enduring than these Rocky Mountains, whose desolate and gloomy ramparts hem us in to-day, for the mountains themselves are built upon it. Everything else may perish or fail of accomplishment, every other plan go wrong, every other hope be disappointed; but one thing shall stand, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and that is, that every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord. This purpose of God has been inwrought into all the forces of nature and of history; the very stars in their courses fight against Christ's enemies; he must reign until he has put all enemies beneath his feet. It is now more than thirty years since Abraham Lincoln uttered his prophecy with regard to the irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom in America. "A house divided against itself," he said, "cannot stand. This government cannot continue to exist half-free and half-slave." We see

his prophecy already fulfilled. But Abraham Lincoln announced a principle of universal application. This world cannot continue to exist half-Christian and half-pagan. Christ and Antichrist cannot forever divide the earth between them. "Faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers." The one side will pull the other over. Heathendom will sooner or later be swallowed up in Christendom, and will cease to be.

Human life is great, according as it takes up into itself and ratifies and embodies this decree of God. It is petty and mean, if it is not in some way connected with this great plan of God to give the world to Christ. But life is a glorious thing, if it can be made tributary to that mighty purpose for the unfolding of which God built the arches of the firmament and decorated them with their mosaic of constellations, laid the rocky floor of the earth as the stage of a theatre for the tragedy of Calvary, arranged all the events of history as shifting scenes of the mighty drama, and for the opening of it made the curtain of night and chaos rise at the creation. In Washington, at the close of our great Civil War, before our soldiers disbanded, there was a review of the Army of the Potomac and of the Army of the Tennessee. Meade and Sherman passed before President Johnson and General Grant at the head of their troops. There were men in the ranks who had lost an arm in battle; there were other men who had languished in the prison-pen at Andersonville. But not one man of them all was sorry he had suffered and bled; for the purpose of the war had been accomplished; victory had crowned our banners; the Union had been saved. So there will be a great day when this cruel war is over,

and the soldiers come marching home, when Christ's triumphant army shall be reviewed, and when the Captain of our salvation shall welcome and reward those who have been faithful in the fight. Then it will appear that labor and sacrifice and suffering for Christ are honorable, and that only he is great whose life has been spent in efforts to further the progress and to secure the triumph of the kingdom of God.

In the certainty that God's decree will be executed we can work. But we can also wait. When I think of the long ages that have intervened since our Lord ascended to heaven, and of the struggle and suffering that have crowded them full, I wonder at the waiting even more than I wonder at the work. I hear Luther, near the time of his death, saying: "God forbid that the world should last fifty years longer. Let him cut matters short with his last judgment." Melancthon put the end less than two hundred years from his time. Calvin's motto was: "*Domine, quousque?*"—"O Lord, how long?" Jonathan Edwards, before and during the Great Awakening, indulged high expectations as to the probable extension of the movement until it should bring the world, even during his lifetime, into the love and obedience of Christ. If believers have been thus disappointed, is it wonderful that unbelievers should say: "Where is the promise of his coming?" We do not deny that there is a trial of our faith. But we remind ourselves of the decrees of God. With him "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as one day." He speaks and it is done; he commands and it stands fast. He delays only that the harvest of good may be the greater, that larger and larger

ranges of society and of life may be penetrated by his love and power, that unto principalities and powers in heavenly places may be made known through the church the manifold wisdom of God. On Christ's head shall be many crowns. The whole universe shall bow to him. The promise of God the Father to God the Son is an effective promise ; it not only engages to give the victory to faith, but it engages to give the faith for victory.

And for the rest, in weariness,
 In disappointment and distress,
 When strength decays and hope grows dim,
 We ever may recur to him
 Who has the golden oil divine
 Wherewith to feed our failing urns,
 Who watches every lamp that burns
 Before his sacred shrine.

“ For of him, as well as through him and to him, are all things.”

Brethren of the Missionary Union : With these decrees of God to encourage us, let us go forward with calm assurance that his purpose shall be fulfilled, and that our efforts shall be made one of the means of fulfilling it. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but his word shall not pass away. Even now the government is upon Christ's shoulder. He is conducting the march of civilization. He is turning and overturning the systems of philosophers and the thrones of kings. He is the Sun of Righteousness, and the Sun has risen upon the world ; he is pressing back the darkness of heathenism and of ancient wrong ; soon his beams shall enlighten every land ; soon the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his

Christ. Our work is sure of success because he holds us in the hollow of his hand; we are his instruments, his members, linked to him, parts of his very body; and he is the omnipotent Revealer of God, the one and only Executor of God's eternal plan. We therefore join ourselves anew to thee, O Christ. We count ourselves happy that we may labor and suffer and wait with thee! We expect the day when thou wilt loose the last seal of the book of God's decrees and translate its uttermost secret into the fulfillments of history! We pray, as thou hast bidden us pray, that thou wilt give thy Spirit of holiness and love and power to thy church; that thou wilt help thy people by their own decree of self-sacrifice and faithfulness, in every word and work, effectively to declare thy decree of salvation to the whole world for which thou didst die; and that thus thou wilt hasten the day when "every creature that is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them shall be heard saying: Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto him who sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb, forever and ever!"

THE LOVE OF CHRIST THE GREAT MOTIVE TO MISSIONS¹

BRETHREN OF THE MISSIONARY UNION:—Times and places change, and men change with them, but Christ is the same yesterday and to-day and forever. When we last met, the white summits of the Rocky Mountains looked down upon us. We kindled our westernmost campfire two thousand miles from here, in a region whose stones are silver and out of whose hills men dig gold. Our hearts were glad because we had been enabled to celebrate the centennial year of Baptist missions by laying upon God's altar a million-dollar offering,—the largest that our churches in America had ever made. A bright future seemed opening before us; enlargement of our work appeared practicable; we fancied that a more rapid pace had been set for the years before us. We sang our hallelujahs, we committed our cause to God, and we launched out for another twelvemonth voyage. But it was not long before the financial sky began to darken. Though the vessel had shot ahead, we had to take in sail. The hurricane came down upon us. We seemed just ready to drive upon the rocks of bankruptcy and disaster. But we cried unto the Lord in our trouble and he brought us out of our distresses. He made the storm

¹Opening address of the president at the eightieth anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Saratoga, May 27, 1894.

a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. The ship is battered and weatherworn, but it has come into the haven, and we say with the psalmist: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

The future still confronts us, but we have learned some useful lessons from the past. We have come to believe in a Providence that makes even seeming evil the means of good. We know that God does not forget his people. "Though the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall there be fruit in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will I rejoice in the Lord; I will joy in the God of my salvation. Jehovah the Lord is my strength, and he maketh my feet like hinds' feet, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places." Since this is a society of God's ordaining and upholding, the words which Longfellow wrote of the ship of State, our Federal Union, may be applied in a more spiritual sense to our Missionary Union:

Sail on, O Union strong and great !
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate !
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast and sail and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope !
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock ;

'Tis but the flapping of the sail
And not a rent made by the gale !
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea !
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee !''

Although the English Baptist Missionary Society began its work a little more than a century ago, it is only eighty years since American Baptists engaged in foreign missions. On May 18, 1814, there was formed in Philadelphia the General Missionary Convention, of which our Missionary Union is the continuation. During these fourscore years since Judson and Rice were appointed its first missionaries, what heroism abroad, and what sacrifice at home have distinguished its annals ! The very continuity of its existence is a wonder of divine Providence ; its unexampled successes, in spite of pecuniary reverses and martyr deaths, are witness that some principle grander than that which animates any secular organization is its moving power. That principle is the love of Christ. Shall we commemorate the achievements of our Missionary Union, and not stand in awe before the impelling energy that has wrought them all ?

As I asked you a year ago to contemplate the decrees of God as the great encouragement to missions, so I ask you now to contemplate THE LOVE OF CHRIST AS THE GREAT MOTIVE TO MISSIONS. Not our love to Christ, for that is a very weak and uncertain thing. Nor even Christ's love to us, for that is something still external

to us. Each of these leaves a separation between Christ and us, and fails to act as a moving power within. I speak of the larger love of Christ, which includes both these. Just as God's decree furnishes the great encouragement to missions because it involves and brings in its train the church's decree to preach the gospel to the perishing, so Christ's love furnishes the constraining motive to missions because it involves and brings in its train the church's deathless love for the souls for whom Christ died. Not simply our love to Christ, not simply Christ's love to us, but rather Christ's love *in* us, going out toward the lost, is the motive that has founded and sustained our Union in the past, and that will deliver and prosper it in years to come.

I bring to you the old commandment which you have had from the beginning; but I would make it a new commandment to you this morning by showing you that the law of love is a law of life, that it is no arbitrary demand but is grounded in the nature of things, that it is only the expression of the organic relation which Christ sustains to humanity and humanity sustains to Christ. And I lay down as a truth of Scripture the statement that Christ and humanity are bound together as one organism. I mean nothing less than this, that all men everywhere, saints and sinners, Jews and Gentiles, since the incarnation and before the incarnation, are bound to Christ, and Christ is bound to them, by the ties of a common life. We are familiar with the thought that Christ is the Head of the church, that all regenerate souls constitute his body, that he lives and dwells in every true believer. But there is a prior

union with Christ which Scripture declares to us but which we have strangely neglected. Christ is also the natural head of universal humanity; in him, the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, were all things created—all the physical universe, all the angelic hierarchies, all the race of man—and in him, who upholds all things by the word of his power, all things, including humanity, consist or hold together, from hour to hour. The whole race is one in Christ. Have we thought of Christ's life as animating only believers? That is true of Christ's spiritual life. But there is a natural life of Christ also, and that life pulses and throbs in all men everywhere. All men are created in Christ, before they are recreated in him. The whole race lives, moves, and has its being in him; for he is the soul of its soul and the life of its life. There is an organism of humanity as well as an organism of the church, and Christ is the center and life of the one as he is the center and life of the other.

The ancient feeling of the organic unity of the family and of the State was only the dawning of this larger conception of the unity of the race. Shakespeare shows how deeply he saw into the moving idea of the classic world, when in "Coriolanus" he makes Caius Marcius say to the rabble, "Get you home, ye fragments!" The mob had in it no sense of the organic unity of the Roman people, and so they were worthless fragments, without significance or value. Rome would never have been great if the idea of a larger life had not taken possession of her people,—a life that transcended the powers of the individual and included many generations in its scope. *Principes mortales, rempublicam*

aeternam was the noblest maxim of Tacitus. Now we have applied all this to the church, but we have not extended the doctrine beyond the Church, any more than Aristotle extended it beyond the State. He said that "The whole is before the parts," but he meant by "the whole" only the pan-Hellenic world, the commonwealth of Greeks; he never thought of humanity, and the word "mankind" never fell from his lips. He could not understand the unity of humanity, because he knew nothing of Christ, its organizing principle. But we can see that all humanity is one, because Christ, the whole in which all the individual members participate, is "before all things," as well as "in all" and "through all."

But we must not conceive of this unity of all men in Christ as a merely physical unity. This would be repeating the error of Herbert Spencer. He believes in humanity as an organism. But since he denies free-will, the life of this organism is virtually nothing but physical life. The individual members passively execute the impulses communicated to them from the inscrutable power of which they are the partial manifestations. Sin, if such a thing be possible in the system, and misery, the natural consequence of sin, are both necessitated, and there is absolutely no remedy. There is no eye to pity and no arm to save. We shudder at this conclusion, and we rejoice that our view of the relation of humanity to Christ leads us to precisely the opposite result. Humanity is a moral, not a physical, organism. Though created and upheld by Christ, every man is endowed with that priceless heritage, free-will, and he can use his free-will in resisting, instead of

obeying, the law of holiness which reigns supreme. And when moral disintegration has entered through this abuse of free-will, the law of love can repair the ruin that sin has wrought, Christ's free-will can manifest itself as a recreated humanity in the incarnation, and individual men can secure new birth and new life by voluntary reunion with him from whom their life originally came but from whom they had morally separated themselves by their sin.

Love is the gravitation of the moral universe. It operates, however, not inversely as the square of the distance, but directly as the distance. Its law is: *From* each, according to ability; *to* each, according to need. The farther away from God the soul is, so much more goes out toward it the divine compassion; the more estranged from Christ, so much the more does Christ long to save. Kant defined an organism to be that in which the whole and each of the parts was reciprocally means and end. Christ, the Head and Life of universal humanity, the great whole of which each individual man is normally a part, recognizes the obligations of the organism which he has constituted. The natural tie which bound him to all men and all men to him made not only possible but necessary his bearing all our burdens and sins in his atonement. The holiness that condemned sin must involve in condemnation him who constituted the natural center and life of humanity. The heart must suffer with the suffering of the members; aye, the heart can suffer when the members cannot, because the members are stupefied and benumbed while the heart is yet healthy and whole.

Redemption, then, in terms of modern thought, is

the movement of the whole to save the part. The great love of Christ is the rational effort of the organism to retrieve the error and to expiate the sin of its members. In the very nature of things the Lord can save humanity only by the sacrifice of himself. He must bear our just condemnation, if we are to go free. But for this very reason, that he is the essence of humanity and that all men live only in him, his sacrifice can be our sacrifice, his atonement can avail for us. We have mystified his work too long by our theories of external and mechanical imputation. The truth is something profounder and more vital than that. Because Christ is our life, naturally as well as spiritually, it was humanity that atoned in him. Only this conception of the organic unity of all men in him can enable us to understand Paul's words: "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that One died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died and rose again." In other words, the love that constrains to missions is simply the flowing out to the extremities of that great tide of life of which the death and resurrection of our Lord are the most signal types and manifestations.

The doctrine of the immanence of God has been transforming the thought of our generation. We see, as our fathers did not, that while God is transcendent, transcendence is not necessarily outsideness; that God is not far from any one of us; that he works not only without but from within; that law is only perpetual miracle; and that evolution is nothing but the method of God. But the world has yet to learn the great truth

that the God who is so near it, who constitutes its very life, and who is carrying forward its historic development, is none other than Christ. As he is the eternal Word, so he is the only Revealer of God. And he is Love. I would apply this doctrine of immanent Love to missions. I would induce you to see in Christ the center and source of all love, because you see in him the center and source of all life. As all physical energy is but the stored-up product of the sun in the heavens, so all the moral energy of man is but the stored-up product of the Sun of Righteousness. Our love is faint and cold, and, severed from the source of love, it will be soon exhausted; but, since it is connected with an infinite dynamo in Christ, there is no limiting its duration or its power. If I am a member of Christ's body, then I tingle with loving life which he himself supplies. I too love every member of that humanity to which he has bound himself and for which he has shed his blood. I fill up that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ for the sake of his body, which is the church. I am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise. My love is a manifestation of Christ's love. As I have freely received, so I freely give.

Mere natural selection would leave the weak and the bad to perish. It believes in a sort of progress; but, as Darwin and Huxley both confess, it can give no guarantee that this progress will be in the direction of benevolence or even of morality; it may, for all they know, be progress toward mere brute force and demoniacal injustice. This is because the philosophy of mere natural selection is deterministic, and it recognizes

no central sensorium in the universe, knows of no divine consciousness or liberty or righteousness or love. John Fiske, in his "Cosmic Philosophy," has a glimpse of the truth, and improves greatly upon Herbert Spencer, his master, when he declares that the universe is not a machine but that it has an indwelling principle of life, and when he suggests, faintly and timidly, that artificial selection may do something which natural selection cannot. Oh, that it might dawn upon the minds of these scientists that Christ is this indwelling principle of life, that it is he that holds the universe together, and that he is none other than the manifested love of God! Now we see One who has not only the power but the disposition to save the lost, and with this we have the historical proof that what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God has done by sending us his Son. Incarnation and atonement and resurrection and regeneration are, so to speak, processes of artificial selection which counteract the natural selection of sin and death by the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

To be organically bound to Jesus Christ, then, is to be organically bound to all men over the whole earth. To feel for men across the sea and to send them the gospel is only the recognition of their common relationship to us by virtue of their being natural members of Christ. As he has the deepest interest in their welfare and destiny, so we, his members, are bound to have interest in them also. Nothing human is foreign to us any more than it is to him. As he gave his life for the least and meanest of his members, so we ought also to lay down our lives for them. All the members of the

race are brethren. We do not reach our individual perfection until we realize that we are parts of humanity, and no man is ever fully saved himself until he learns from Christ to work for the salvation of the world. The reign of universal peace and of universal righteousness will never come except by the recognition and worship of that Christ who is himself the embodied peace and righteousness of God, as well as the embodied unity and life of humanity. The race will be redeemed only as one after another of the individual members of the race accepts Christ's gospel, permits his love to move him, becomes a channel of communication by which the great love of Christ may flow to all the world.

As the love of Christ in us is the church's great motive to missions, so it is the world's great motive to turn from its sin. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," and the exhibition of Christ's love in the Christian countenance and conduct is the great means of breaking down the barriers of selfishness and enmity and pride, and opening the hearts of sinners to the inflowing of the same life-giving stream. Christ himself is invisible, and the sinner thinks of him as far away, even though he stands at the door and knocks. It is most often the Christlike look, or the Christlike words, or the Christlike charity of some Christian, that convinces the erring that Christ is in the world and that even now Christ is seeking him. Ah, this is the reason why our missionary work is so supremely important! As God the Father does not work and is not known except through Christ the Son, so Christ the Son does not work and is not known except through his

followers. Even as my Father hath sent me, he says, so send I you. "Lo, I am with you alway." "He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." Could any identification be more complete? Dear friends, we shall never understand the fullness of the church's resources nor the greatness of the church's power, until we see in the church the new incarnation of the Redeemer and the new embodiment of his love. As we are the very body of Christ, surely the redeemed members will reach out after those who are still diseased and dying, and will persuade them, by the example of their own love and life, to receive that love and life themselves.

And so the whole race is to be turned into a perfect organism, by being leavened with love. Humanity is to become a great moral personality which freely manifests the life of the Redeemer. Families, classes, nations, are to be articulated portions of his body, and all together, revealing his varied excellences and executing his will, are to reflect and to magnify the God who dwells in Christ as Christ dwells in his members. Thus our Lord's petition shall be fulfilled, "that they all may be one." Jerusalem is "builded as a city that is compact together." Our Missionary Union, with its motive of love, and its organization of loving activities, and its presence of the loving Lord in the midst of it, is only a representation in miniature of the greater Jerusalem, the city and temple of the blest.

In a recent address by Director Burnham of the Columbian Exposition, he declares that the great Chicago Fair was made possible only by the unselfish determination of the architects and artists to let no

private and personal interests or preferences stand in the way of hearty co-operation toward the one common end. Many a plan had to be surrendered, many a wish to be given up, in order that the grand result might be achieved. Many a risk had to be run, many a sacrifice of time and money had to be made, before the triumph was made sure. But no one of all those designers or contributors is sorry, now that the whole world has confessed the Exposition to be in its way the greatest wonder of all time. Brethren of the Missionary Union, the White City has come and gone. Fire and frost have made way with most of its transient glories, and what is left will soon decay. But there is another grander city rising beneath the sky,—it is the city of God, the city of the saved, the city in which Christ dwells and reigns. We are permitted to put our hands to the building of it. It will rise solidly and rapidly, only as we give up our private and personal ambitions, only as we merge our interests in the great whole, only as we make large and free our gifts for Christ and for humanity. Let us not be lacking in our faith or in our works, in our loving or in our doing, for we are setting up the crowning wonder of the ages. This city of redeemed humanity will abide when all the palaces of earth shall perish; it alone hath eternal foundations, for its builder and maker is God.

THE HOLY SPIRIT THE ONE AND ONLY POWER IN MIS- SIONS¹

BRETHREN OF THE MISSIONARY UNION :—“The days of our years are threescore years and ten, or even by reason of strength fourscore years; yet is their pride but labor and sorrow, for it is soon gone and we fly away.” Moses the man of God spoke truly of the individual human life; and the sore bereavements of the past few months have deeply impressed upon us the lesson. But corporate societies obey a different law. “As the days of a tree,” lengthening out to a thousand years, “are the days of my people,” saith the Lord. Our Missionary Union has passed fourscore, and celebrates now its eighty-first anniversary. No man now lives who participated in its founding. But the life of God was in it from the beginning, and because he lives it lives and will live also. It has survived the changes of another year. We have paid the expenses of the twelvemonth and have somewhat diminished the great debt with which we began. The tide has begun to turn, and we trust in God that the winter of commercial depression will soon be changed to glorious summer, and that we shall see the clouds that lowered upon our enterprises in the deep bosom of the ocean buried.

¹ Opening address of the president at the Eighty-first Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Saratoga, N. Y., May 28, 1895.

One year ago, in this very place, Dr. Gordon was with us and led us in our opening prayer. I cannot refrain from saying how much he was to me personally, and how much to the Missionary Union. Of him as truly as of John the Baptist it might be said: "There was a man sent from God whose name was" A. J. Gordon. He was a leader and inspirer and comforter of God's people, because he believed most profoundly in the leadership and inspiration and comfort of the Holy Ghost. And now that God has taken him from us, and we have no longer with us his great conscience and strong faith and noble heart, I can do you no better service than to draw your thoughts to that great theme which absorbed the last energies of his life. The administration of the saintliest man must cease, but the administration of the Holy Spirit abides. As two years ago I spoke to you of "The Decrees of God the Great Encouragement to Missions," and one year ago of "The Love of Christ the Great Motive of Missions," so to-day I take for the subject of my last presidential address,—
THE HOLY SPIRIT THE ONE AND ONLY POWER IN MISSIONS.

Who is the Holy Spirit? He is the third person of the blessed Trinity. In opposition to much of the false and pernicious teaching of our day, I emphasize the truth that the Holy Spirit is a person, not an influence—*some one*, and not *some thing*. I do not need to tell you that the tripersonality of the divine nature is essential to the life, communion, and blessedness of God. Because God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, he is independent of creation; he does not need the universe. The world has had a beginning; it is the work of his

sovereignty and grace ; but the Holy Spirit is eternal, and before the world was he existed, coequal with the Father and the Son. He is not only a person, but he is that person of the Godhead who comes nearest to us in our needs, who brings the Creator not only *to*, but *into*, the creature. He is personal Love in its tenderest form, and only when we appreciate the depths of our own ingratitude and his holy shrinking from our sin, can we understand "the love of the Spirit" that bears with our manifold provocations and still persists in his healing and purifying work. As Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane "began to be sorrowful and very troubled," so the Holy Spirit is sorrowful and very troubled at the ignoring, despising, resisting of his work, on the part of those whom he is trying to rescue from sin and to lead out into the activities of the Christian life. Multiply this experience by millions, and conceive how great must be the suffering and sorrow of the third person of the Trinity, as he struggles with the apathy and unbelief of the church, endeavors to replace the spirit of selfishness by the spirit of missions, and strives to turn the weakness of his people into power!

But though the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity, he is more than this ; he is also the Spirit of the incarnate Christ. We cannot understand this without reflecting upon the nature of the change in Christ himself when he took upon him human flesh. Before his incarnation he was the eternal Word of God, the Revealer of God in nature and in history. But when he was born of a virgin, he condensed his glory, so to speak, and manifested himself within the limits of humanity. What was before abstract and far away now

became concrete and near. In Christ we see the God-head in our own likeness, speaking to us with a brother's voice and feeling for us with a brother's heart. Christ is now Son of Man as well as Son of God. And what I wish to say with regard to the Holy Spirit is, that he is the Spirit, not of the preincarnate but of the incarnate Christ, with just as much more power than he had before as Christ had more power after his incarnation.

The Holy Spirit had wrought in some measure before the incarnation, just as Christ had wrought. But as Christ, the Word of God, was abstract and hard to recognize, so the Spirit of Christ partook of the same disabilities. The Holy Spirit, who always manifests Christ, could in Old Testament times manifest only the divine side of Christ, because there was as yet no human side to manifest. But when Christ's person had become complete by taking humanity into its divinity, and when Christ's work had become complete by taking all our sins and penalties and bearing them for us, then the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, had more to manifest than he ever had before. From being the Spirit of God alone, he became the Spirit of the God-man, the Spirit of the incarnate Jesus, the revealer through all space and time of the humanity that had been taken up into the divinity.

We can understand now how it can be said in John's Gospel that before the crucifixion and resurrection "the Spirit was not yet given"—or was not yet—"because Jesus was not yet glorified." The proper work of the Holy Spirit is to take of the things of Christ and show them to men. Until Christ's work was accomplished the Holy Spirit had comparatively little to show. Not

only was his influence limited in its degree, but it was also limited in its kind : the Holy Spirit as the revealer of the incarnate Jesus did not as yet exist. We might illustrate this by the pride and joy of the mother in showing off her son : she can exhibit him after he has reached his majority and has education and character, as she never could when he was a babe in arms. One might even say that while she was caring for him in his infancy her time for showing him off had not yet come. The mother was not yet exhibitor. So the Holy Spirit could not exhibit Christ until there was a full-grown Christ to exhibit. While our Lord retained the form of a servant and was subject to the Holy Spirit here on earth, the Holy Spirit could not make him known, any more than the mother could publish abroad the greatness of her son, before the time of his greatness had come. But when Christ's humiliation was ended and his exaltation had begun, then the Holy Spirit's work could begin also. Only when the Saviour was glorified in heaven, could the Spirit glorify him on earth.

But we must not separate the Spirit from Christ as if the two were independent of each other like Peter and Paul. The persons are one in essence. As the Father dwells in and reveals himself through the Son, so the Son dwells in and reveals himself through the Spirit. As Christ could say : "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," so the Holy Spirit might say : He that hath seen me hath seen Christ. In the Holy Spirit we have Christ himself, no longer far away and unintelligible, but possessed of a human soul and touched with the feeling of our infirmities as he could never be if he

had not passed through the temptation and the sorrow of an actual human life. The Holy Spirit is the same incarnate Christ now made omnipresent and omnipotent. You can appreciate how great a truth this is, when you remember the sorrow of the disciples at the taking from them of their Lord. To part with him, their teacher and helper, seemed to them to be the loss of all. How hard it was for them to realize that it was expedient for them that he should go away! Yet it was best for them to lose his visible, bodily presence, because only thus could they have his invisible, spiritual omnipresence. Unless he went away in body, he could not send his Spirit. But if he departed from their eyes, he could come into their hearts. Hence he can say indifferently, "I will send the Comforter," and "I will come unto you"; for the Comforter is only Christ in another, more spiritual, more universal form.

It was to educate the disciples to this faith in his invisible presence through the Holy Spirit that Jesus appeared to them so mysteriously in the upper chamber, on the way to Emmaus, by the seaside of Galilee. A moment ago he seemed absent, but now he is here, stretching out his hands in blessing. Has he come through the solid walls, or through the circumambient air? Ah, not so! The lesson to be learned is rather that he has been here all the while, and now he only manifests his presence. And the disciples do learn the lesson that, while seemingly absent, the Saviour is ever present with them,—while invisible, by the eye of faith he can be seen. The Holy Spirit is the incarnate Christ not only, but the incarnate Christ spiritualized, freed from all the limitations of space and time, no longer

subject to the conditions of his humiliation, but omnipresent and glorified. While here on earth in human flesh he could heal the lepers and feed the hungry and raise the dead and walk the sea ; but he could not be in two places at the same time, nor teach Peter in Galilee at the same time that he taught John at Jerusalem. Now, by his Holy Spirit, he can be present with the little knot of believers that worships in Swatow, at the same time that he meets with us here in Saratoga. And as the Holy Spirit is the omnipresent Christ, so he is the omnipotent Christ also, with every restraint upon his working removed, except the restraints of infinite wisdom and infinite love.

We begin to see the greatness of the Holy Spirit. And yet we shall not understand how great he is, unless we remember how great this Christ is who works through him. Jesus said that all power was committed to him in heaven and in earth. This means nothing less than that Nature, with all her elements and laws, is under his control and manifests his will ; that History, with all her vicissitudes, including the rise and fall of empires and civilizations, is the working out of his plan ; and that the Church, with her witnessing for the truth, her martyrdoms, her love and anguish for men's souls, her struggling after righteousness, is the engine by which he is setting up his kingdom. The incarnate Christ is now on the throne of the universe, and the hand that was nailed to the cross now holds the sceptre over all.

Who, then, is the Holy Spirit ? He is the incarnate and divine Redeemer wielding all this infinite power, in the realm of spirit, and for spiritual ends. He is the

organ of internal revelation, as Christ is the organ of external revelation. Just so far as Christ does anything for intelligent and moral beings he does it through the Holy Spirit. We can make no exceptions. As the Spirit of God in the beginning brooded over chaos and brought forth forms of life and beauty, so still he works in nature to complete and restore the creation which sin has marred; as he strove with men before the flood, so he strives with them all along the course of time, in every nation and in every conscience giving witness of Christ's law and grace; as with Noah and Abraham and Moses and David and Isaiah he renewed the heart by presenting the truth made known by the preincarnate Logos, so now he takes the clearer truth of Christ's incarnation and sacrifice and resurrection and makes it the means of establishing the kingdom of God in human hearts. Pentecost could come only after the Passover. The feast of jubilation and first fruits dated back to the other feast when the lamb was slain in every household. So Christ had first to die, before the Holy Spirit could show to John on Patmos the Lamb that had been slain, sitting upon the very throne of God and with all the crowns of the universe upon his brow. In other words, the Holy Spirit is the divine but incarnate Saviour omnipresent and omnipotent to subdue to himself the hearts of earth's revolted millions and to go forth conquering and to conquer until every spiritual enemy has been put beneath his feet.

If what I have said is true, then I think we shall be obliged greatly to enlarge our ordinary conceptions of the power of the Holy Ghost. I think we cannot confine it, as we sometimes do, to the power exerted in the

conversion of the individual, though that is its most common and impressive exhibition. There is a larger agency of the Spirit in the leavening of society, the shaping of public opinion, the raising of ethical standards, the quickening of the moral sense throughout whole communities and decades, throughout whole nations and ages. Just as there is a preliminary work in the individual which prepares the way for his regeneration, so there is a preliminary work in the masses of mankind that prepares the way for the coming of the kingdom ; and this preliminary work is the work of the Holy Spirit, just as much as the work of consummation is.

There are times when financial depression is succeeded by a strange awe and expectation of the coming of God. There are times when the sudden solution of vexed problems of State, when great public deliverances and great public judgments, are recognized even by ungodly men as due to the finger of God. Then it is the Holy Spirit that draws the curtain aside and lets men see the living God behind the wheels. In the movements and enterprises of the church there is a work of the Holy Spirit quite aside from his enlightening and sanctifying of individuals. At times a multitude of believers, widely separated from each other, seemed moved to pray for the removal of some mountain-like obstacle that prevents the progress of God's cause. Then slavery is abolished, walls of heathen exclusion are broken down, civil reforms are instituted, great revivals of religion and great missionary efforts are inaugurated. And yet it is true that even these broad and general influences upon the heart of humanity and of the church are connected

with renewals of single individuals, like the conversion of Paul and the conversion of Luther; and these turnings of individuals become the means of turning whole communities.

Regeneration is a spiritual work, in the sense that it takes place in man's spiritual nature, is wrought by a spiritual Being, and makes use of spiritual means and agencies. The Holy Spirit changes men's natures by bringing truth to bear upon them—the truth with regard to their sin, with regard to Christ's salvation, with regard to God's judgment. He convinces of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. As a flash of lightning shows the nightly wanderer that he is on the edge of a precipice when before he thought himself safe, so the Holy Spirit lights up all the heart's ungodliness and reveals its danger. As the rising sun discloses the glories of an Alpine landscape which the darkness has hidden, and shows snowy mountain and deep blue lake in all their beauty, so the Holy Spirit draws aside the veil of unbelief and enables the lost and helpless to perceive the divine compassion and the infinite sufficiency of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners. And then he convinces of judgment also,—the certainty and awfulness of God's judgment against sin; the Holy Spirit teaches this, and enables the sinner to renounce sin utterly and thus to make the judgment of God his own.

So, while Christ is the life, the Holy Spirit is the life-giver. The Holy Spirit presents Christ to the soul, or, if you prefer the phrase, in and through the Holy Spirit, Christ comes to the soul and takes up his abode in it, makes it holy, gives it new views of truth and new power of will. Before the Holy Spirit began his

work Christ was outside, and we looked upon him as a foreign, perhaps even as a distant, Redeemer. After the Holy Spirit has done his work, we have Christ within, the soul of our soul and the life of our life. A union is established between Christ and us, so that none can separate us from him or from his love. In fact, there is nothing more marked in the New Testament than the way in which Christ is identified with his body, the church, unless it is the way in which the Holy Spirit is identified with our spirits. The Holy Spirit so passes into our spirits that we are said to have the spirit of Christ, and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether our spirit or the divine Spirit is meant, the two are so merged the one in the other. All this renewing and transforming shows what power the Holy Spirit exercises. It is power compared with which the mightiest physical changes sink into insignificance. You can more easily create a world than recreate a soul. Only God can regenerate. It is only God, who caused the light to shine out of darkness at the beginning, who can shed abroad in a sinful soul the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

And yet physical images are employed to illustrate the Holy Spirit's power. His agency is compared to that of air, of water, and of fire, at their highest pitch of efficiency. Take the air, that is often so still and apparently impotent about us that we absolutely forget its existence. Would you believe that this air, when stirred, is capable of taking up cattle and carrying them half a mile over fences and trees? Would you believe that this air could absolutely prostrate the strongest houses,

and even lay low the largest trees, cutting a clear swath for miles and miles through the forest? Yet the eastern tornado or the western cyclone is nothing but "wild air," as Helen Kellar beautifully said. So, in the ordinary quiet workings of the Holy Spirit, we get no idea of the mighty effects he is able to produce. The same divine Agent who comforts the sorrowing and speaks in whispers of peace to the heart of a child is able to come like a mighty rushing wind at Pentecost and in a single day convert three thousand unto God.

The agency of the Holy Spirit is compared to that of water. The rain is a symbol of his influence. Sometimes it is the gentle showers that water the mown grass and cause the thirsty field to revive. So the Holy Spirit encourages the believer whose earthly hopes have been cut down. But there are larger manifestations of his power. In this country and latitude we know little of what rain can accomplish. Years ago I was traveling in Palestine and happened to be caught in the last rain of the springtime, just before the long dry season from April to November set in. I had heard of rain coming down in the tropics in sheets and bucketsful, but I had never expected to see anything like it. But there, on the way from Carmel to Cæsarea, I had the experience. The water seemed to descend in masses. Those exposed to it were drenched as if they had been plunged into the sea. Then I understood what the psalmist meant by "the river of God which is full of water": he meant the rain, that came down like floods from heaven. And then I understood the promise of Malachi: "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, and prove me now herewith,

saith the Lord, if I will not open the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing, so that there shall not be room to receive it." The opening of the windows of heaven is an allusion to the Deluge of old ; and the prophet assures us that, when God's people are faithful and put his promise to the test, the Holy Spirit, whose ordinary influences are so gentle, will descend like the floods of Noah, so that the fountains of the great deep are broken up, and rivers of blessing flow forth from God's sanctuary, to water the earth.

The agency of the Holy Spirit is compared to fire. The flame kindled in the heart by the blessed Spirit may be so slight and low that a single breath of coldness and opposition may suffice to quench it. But it may also become a consuming blaze that carries everything before it. It is only a match that sets the dry wood burning in the hunter's camp-fire, but that fire may spread till the whole forest for miles and miles is swept by the roaring flames. A kerosene lamp overturned is a little thing, but Chicago devoured by conflagration is the result,—the greatest structures of wood and iron melt and crumble in that heat. So in the common operations of the Holy Spirit we get no conception of what the Spirit can do in melting hard hearts and in bringing to nothing the pride and opposition of men. How often has he swept whole communities with religious anxiety and zeal that could only be compared with fire from heaven ! The college revivals, and the great awakenings on a larger scale which this country has witnessed in days gone by, are evidence that the Holy Spirit has a power beyond all our ordinary estimates. Why should we be so slow to believe in his power ?

Was Pentecost the limit of his working? What was Pentecost but the feast of first-fruits, the bringing in of the first few ripened ears of the mighty harvest? Shall we limit the harvest by the first-fruits, or think that the first ingathering is the greatest possible? Ah, no! Pentecost was but the beginning, and the power of the Spirit of God will be fully seen, only when a nation is born in a day.

There is no measure of the Holy Spirit's power except the greatness of the Holy Spirit himself. The Holy Spirit is as great as Christ,—in fact, he is Christ, not now absent but present, with us and with his church always even unto the end of the world, and all things in heaven and earth are given into his hand. And since Christ is God revealed, Deity manifested, Divinity brought down to our comprehension and engaged in the work of our salvation, the Holy Spirit is this same God in the hearts of believers and pushing the conquests of Christ's kingdom in the world. Wherever God is by his omnipresence, there the Holy Spirit is, to make men will and do according to his will. And whatever God can do by his omnipotence in the spirits of men, that the Holy Spirit can do, to convert the world to Christ. Is the Holy Spirit equal to the work of missions? Ah, the Holy Spirit is God himself, engaged in this very work. More pervasive than electricity or magnetism, his power encircles the globe, and hence the touch of prayer in America can produce results in Africa or in Japan.

He is one, and he is almighty. He can weave together all the prayers and all the labors of the Christian church into the complex structure of his kingdom, and

he can make the least breath of desire, and the widow's mite of contribution, most potent agencies for the salvation of the world. All the wealth of Christendom is his, and he can prompt his people to use it. The storms of war and the oppositions of the nations are only surface movements of the great sea of humanity, beneath which the vast ocean of God's Spirit is ever resting and waiting, with power to bring the waves to calm or to drive them with one consent to engulf and overwhelm the shore. And the day shall come when, in answer to his people's prayers and through their very efforts, this ocean-like Spirit shall show his power, and the work of a thousand years shall be done in one day. Men may fail and be discouraged, but the mighty Spirit of God shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he has set judgment in the earth, and the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.

"It is the mistake and disaster of the Christian world that effects are sought instead of causes." These weighty words of a recent writer have deeply impressed me. I wish to apply them to the subject of missions. The Holy Spirit is the one and only power in missions, and to expect success in missions while we ignore the Holy Spirit, is to look for an effect without a cause. How evident it is that this great agent, this renewer of hearts, this regenerator of the world, has been largely neglected and ignored! We have been trying to carry on missions without the Spirit of missions. We have trusted our own wisdom, instead of trusting him. We have invoked earthly helps, instead of invoking the Helper, the Advocate, who has been called to this work by God. And so our zeal has slackened, and our faith

has grown weak, and our love has become cold. Neither faith nor love will survive, if hope does not go with them. We cannot do this work ourselves, and when we lose sight of the Holy Spirit, Christian activity dwindles and dies.

The success of missions is dependent upon our recognition of the Spirit of missions. The conversion of the world must be preceded by new faith in him who effects conversion. The Holy Spirit will show his greatest power only when the church seeks his power. The Spirit of missions is also the Spirit of prayer. How may we secure the power of the Holy Spirit in missions and in prayer? Ah, we cannot pray that he will take to himself his great power and reign supreme in the world, until we ourselves admit him to complete dominion in our hearts and lives. So long as we are full of other things that he abhors—our own selfish plans, our impure desires, our worldly ambitions—he will not work in us that mighty praying, that mighty effort, that mighty sacrifice, that alone will save the world. You might put a corked bottle under Niagara, but you could never fill it. The flood of spiritual influence may be descending like Niagara, but the love of sin may completely prevent it from entering our souls. Let us open our hearts then that we may receive. Let us put away the evil that offends God and prevents him from doing his work in us. Let us ask for his coming and indwelling. Let us take him, by the act of our wills, once more to be our Lord.

On his last birthday but one, Livingstone wrote: "My Jesus, my King, my Life, my All, I again dedicate my whole self to thee!" No wonder that he died on his

knees, with his face buried in his hands, praying for the regeneration of Africa. The Spirit of missions is also the Spirit of consecration. He prompts to various kinds of service. He puts it into the heart of one to say: "Here am I, send me!" He moves another to say: "The half of my goods I give, to send the gospel across the sea!" He impels still another to spend days and nights in prayer for the conversion of Madras, or for the spiritual revolutionizing of New York.

Brethren, we are responsible for the bringing of the world to God, because we have this connection and partnership with the Spirit of God. It is not so much a question of giving, as it is a question of receiving. The Saviour even now utters his command as he did in the company of those disciples on the evening of his resurrection. "Receive ye—take ye—the Holy Ghost!" he says to each one of us. But we make two mistakes with regard to his words. First, they are a command, and not a mere permission; and secondly, it is not a passive receiving, but an active taking that is required of us. Shall we thus take the Holy Spirit to-day,—the Spirit of missions, the Spirit of power? May God the Father grant it! May Christ the Son bestow it! May the Holy Spirit himself vouchsafe it! Then from us who are gathered here, though of ourselves we are hard and dry as rocks in the desert, shall flow rivers of living water like that which sprang forth at the touch of Moses' rod! Then shall be set in motion divine influences which shall flow like ocean tides around the world, until every land shall be bathed in their flood and the knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters cover the sea!

QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE MINISTRY¹

IF your secretary had not been the most persuasive of men, and if I had not been the most obliging, you would not have heard me here to-night. The tramp, who was asked after a hearty meal to pick up a few sticks by way of compensation, replied: "Madam, I would do so with great pleasure, but from very early life I have made it a principle never to work between meals." In a similar way I have hitherto made it a principle never to work in vacation. Another principle, however, conflicts with this. I have always accustomed myself to do whatever anybody asked me to do, unless I could see some good reason to the contrary. A friend of mine, who is also a distinguished surgeon, visited an Irishman who was suffering from aphasia, at least he was said to have lost his power of speech. "Well, Dennis, how are you this morning?" said the doctor. "Oh, doctor, I cannot spake." "But, Dennis, you are speaking." "Yes, doctor, but it's many a word I cannot spake." "Well now, I'll try you, Dennis; see if you can't say the word 'horse.'" "Oh, doctor dear, 'horse' is the very word I cannot spake!" So, my friends, I thought I could not speak to you, and yet here I am speaking.

I would not have spoken but for the audience I was

¹ An address at "Roundtop," in Northfield, Mass., Wednesday evening, July 6, 1898, before the Annual Conference of College Students.

asked to address and for the subject that occurred to me. I do not know what audience more than this would call forth a man's highest powers. I feel awe-stricken when I think of the changes in the world which you educated and able and Christian young men may bring about; I feel still more awe-stricken when I think that God may make my address the means of pointing out to some of you the one path of duty which is also the path of glory. Whether this be the result or not, my subject is one which should interest us all, and I beg you to hear me for my cause. I propose to speak of **QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE MINISTRY.**

There are reasons why every minister and every layman should specially consider it. The ministry is coming to be a profession. As our churches increase in wealth and numbers, young men flock into it. It is a mistake to say that there is a lack of men in the ministry. There is a minister at every crossroads. But of trained and competent ministers, ministers who unite ability and devotion, ministers who have the evangelistic and missionary spirit, there is a sad and a growing lack.

We need to attract the fit men, and to bar out those who are unfit. And since both ministers and laymen are charged with the duty of providing men who know the truth and are able to communicate it, there is not one of us upon whom this subject does not impose serious obligations. What may we fairly demand of those who present themselves as candidates for the sacred office? What may we consider as proper qualifications in ourselves when we seek to enter it? I have no doubt that many men have an exaggerated notion of what is required,—a notion which neither

Scripture nor reason substantiates. When I was pastor in Cleveland I saw the sign of a colored barber which read as follows: "John Jones, barber and hairdresser; also, dealer in old clothes; also, cures all chronic diseases." John Jones was what is called "an all-round man." I do not understand the Scripture to demand such a variety of qualifications as this.

There is a diversity of gifts. No minister of the gospel need be a walking encyclopedia or a dynamite cruiser. I am not discussing exceptional cases. Special places and special services have their special claims. While *Qualifications for the Ministry* is my subject, I would interpret the subject by the question: What qualifications should we, in all ordinary cases, demand of those whom we ordain to the ministry of the gospel? I propose to mention six of these qualifications: natural gifts, general culture, a Christian experience, a divine call, a gospel message, and a spiritual power. You will perceive that the first two—the gifts and the culture—are natural qualifications, while the last four—the experience, the call, the message, and the power—are distinctly supernatural, since only God can bestow them.

Let me first say a word about natural gifts. It is certainly desirable that the preacher should have a ringing voice and a fine presence. But men have been very successful without these. Only recently I heard of an accomplished young man, a graduate of one of our colleges, who longed to preach the gospel, but who was prevented by the fact that he had accidentally lost one of his fingers. He could not bring to God's altar that which was blind or halt or maimed. I

respected the scruple, for it indicated a high view of the ministerial office, but I was obliged to tell him that with God mind and heart and will counted for more than mere body.

We have no reason to believe that Jesus our Lord was a model of physical beauty. His face was more marred than any man, and his form more than the sons of men. Of Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, it was said that his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible. Christmas Evans, the great Welsh preacher, had lost an eye, and he was called "the one-eyed orator of Anglesey." But Robert Hall said that one eye "could light an army through a wilderness."

Mind and heart and will can make up for physical defects. The greatest natural gift, in my judgment, is one in which all these are united, and I call it the gift of propagandism. It is the aptness to teach of which the apostle speaks. It involves not only the ability to perceive clearly, and to feel deeply, but also the inner impulse to express one's thought and feeling, and to win others over to the same belief as that which we cherish ourselves. Many men fail in the Christian ministry simply for lack of this spirit of propagandism. They are interested in the gospel as a mere matter of intellectual curiosity; they are men of learning; they rest personally upon Jesus Christ as their Saviour. But they were never born with the will to command others. They are silent, reserved, introspective. Such men may make investigators, but they can never make teachers; and they can never make preachers.

Self-revelation is the business of the preacher. What he knows he must tell. What he believes he must

make others believe. When you find a natural propagandist, the man who believes something, feels strongly about it, and is bound that you shall feel as he does, count that as a great gift of God, and ask whether that man has not the mind and heart and will that qualify him for the Christian ministry. But weak men, men who have no ideas of their own, no fervor, no boldness, no power to face other men and to influence them, should keep out of the ministry; and, if they will not keep themselves out, they should be kept out by their brethren; for, if they enter it, they bring the ministry into contempt. "What is needed in the ministry to-day is not more *men*, but more *man*." The aptness to teach, which the Scripture requires in the minister, is not simply ability to teach, but also determination to teach.

Natural gifts, however, constitute only the first qualification for a minister of the gospel. There must also be general culture. I do not plead for the highest university and European training for every preacher. I only claim that in each age and in each community those who are to be the leaders of thought must know more than those whom they instruct. No man will sit long under the preaching of one who is his inferior. This does not mean that the preacher is to be a specialist in farming or engineering, but it does mean that the preacher must show himself a fairly competent and cultivated man, if he is to win the confidence of the engineer or the farmer.

The amount of training that was sufficient for a half-century ago is not sufficient for to-day. Our common schools have greatly added to the intelligence of our

communities. The daily and weekly press, the magazines, and even the books of our Sunday-schools, have been making a larger culture necessary in the preacher. He has to compete with others. In the days when our seminary received half-trained students, one of these read the hymn "What horror then my vitals froze," as "What horror then my *vittles* froze." Fortunately, it was only before his class. Slips in grammar and incoherence in thought can no longer be made up for by mere fervor and floods of emotion. Even the children see through the pretense, and require real teaching.

This general culture can be best gained in the college, even though many men have it who have never pursued a college course. In college there is a certain amount of knowledge communicated, and a broadening acquaintance with the world gained. The college student has before him men of high intelligence whom he loves and reveres, and these personal influences wonderfully mold his ideals and shape his life. He comes into close contact with other young men of high aims, and in spite of himself is moved to do better by their example. But the greatest benefit of college life is after all the learning to concentrate one's powers and to do much in a little time. The duties of the modern pastor are so multifarious, and his time is so much at the disposal of others, that he will never be able to prepare two sensible sermons in a week unless he has a good degree of mental discipline.

A great English statesman said once that he had been successful because he was a whole man to one thing at a time. The psalmist prays: "Unite my heart to fear thy name." And the minister of Christ needs

to pray: "Unite my powers, enable me to gather them into one, that I may preach thy gospel." Yet this ability to concentrate one's mind, to think intensely when the time comes to think, to put one's whole soul into the work of the hour, is very largely a natural acquisition, the result of training and practice. And the college is the best place in the world in which to acquire it.

So far I have spoken of natural qualifications,—the gifts and the culture which belong to many others besides ministers of the gospel, and which are essential to the greatest success in any profession. I now come to speak of qualifications that are supernatural, because they are imparted only by special operation of God. A Christian experience is the first of these. Says John Wesley: "Inquire of applicants for admission to the ministry, Do they know God as a pardoning God." The blind have no right to lead the blind, for both will fall into the ditch, and we have no right to install as shepherd a man who cannot distinguish the sheep from the goats. How can one who has never felt the dreadfulness of his own sin and the depths of his own guilt bring home to others the charges of God against them? How can one who has never found deliverance at the foot of the cross lead others to the Lamb of God who alone can take their sin away?

But it is not enough that the preacher should be able to point back to the *beginning* of a Christian experience. He needs a *continuous* Christian experience as well. "Unless thou hast peace in thine own heart," says Thomas à Kempis, "thou wilt never be able to impart peace to others." But Thomas à Kempis himself did

not see the way so clearly as do some of our modern teachers. I regard as the most important of our friend F. B. Meyer's essays that one on "Appropriation of Christ" which begins his little book on "Christian Living." Not "Imitation of Christ" is the soul's need, for that still leaves Christ outside of us. What we need is a power within, and appropriation of Christ gives this. The candlestick in Zechariah's vision was fed from two living olive trees on either side of it, and only thus could it shine without ceasing. Christ's sanctifying grace is as needful as his regenerating grace, and unless a man has experience of a present and continuous salvation he cannot lead others, as the Christian minister should, into the green pastures and beside the still waters which the heavenly Shepherd has prepared for them.

But I hasten to mention a second of these supernatural qualifications. Besides a Christian experience he must have a divine call. Grant that a young man has good natural powers and that these powers have been trained in the schools; grant that he has a past and a present Christian experience, still he has no right to enter the ministry and to be the guide of souls unless he has received the call of God. In one sense indeed every Christian is a preacher. He is bound to "tell to sinners round what a dear Saviour he has found." But he cannot be an overseer of the flock, an official interpreter of God's word, unless God has set him apart. No man taketh this office to himself but he that is called of God, even as was Aaron. It is a solemn thing to stand between the living and the dead, and to proclaim the truth that is a savor of life unto life or of

death unto death. No man should hastily assume that God has called him to this sacred ministry.

And yet God calls in many ways, and we should not be too critical as to the way in which the call of God comes to a man. Men differ greatly from one another. God's methods of regenerating men differ accordingly. The essentials are the same. There is always a change of disposition. The love of sin and self is replaced by the love of holiness and God. Repentance and faith evince the change within. But the time, the circumstances, the awakening agency, the process of thought before and after, differ as widely as do the individual minds and hearts with which God deals. So the call of God to the ministry is communicated in a thousand ways, and no man must refuse to listen to God's voice because it comes to him in one way rather than in another. The fact that my experience in this matter is unlike any other of which I have ever heard may be, not a reason for doubting, but rather a reason for crediting it.

In my own case I am persuaded that the call of God to preach the gospel came to me long before my conversion; and I knew, for years before I gave my heart to God, that if I were ever converted I should be obliged to preach. As I have listened to the relations of Christian experience by successive classes of young men entering our seminary, I have been interested to hear many similar cases. In fact, the certainty that conversion meant preaching has caused many a man to resist and delay conversion. The refusal to preach has been the one opposition of soul to the known will of God, and until that was surrendered there was no par-

don or peace. Paul declares that he was separated unto the gospel of God even from his mother's womb, though it was not until his journey to Damascus that it pleased God to reveal his Son in him. In view of all this, how important it is that the churches should be in a proper spiritual state to facilitate conversion in the cases of those youthful attendants upon their worship whom God has already impressed with a sense of their duty to preach his gospel!

Yet in other cases God's call to preach comes after he calls men into his kingdom, and the new impulse to proclaim the truth of salvation is a sort of corollary of one's own joy in personally experiencing salvation. The call of God comes sometimes through the call of men, as when the lawyer, William R. Williams, in his own absence, was summoned by the church in New York of which he was a member to become its pastor. In the days of Chrysostom, men fled from the church's call, and only when they were dragged out from their hiding-places concluded that the church's call was the call of God. It matters not how the call comes, whether through the suggestion of Christian brethren, through one's own success in personal work for Christ, or through private meditation upon one's own opportunities and obligations.

There needs no vision, and no audible voice from heaven. God speaks more clearly and unmistakably through conscience and providence than he could by signs in the sky. But there does need to be borne in upon the soul the conviction that the love of Christ constrains it to make known that love to others, and that "woe is me, if I preach not the gospel." The

whole trend of one's past life may point in the direction of the ministry, while yet no outward sound has disturbed the stillness. A man may be drawn irresistibly to Christ's work by inner longing, as the steel is drawn by the magnet. He does not need to *explain* the drawing. He only needs to *have* it. Yet none of God's drawings are irrational. One must be able to show that this inner impulse and conviction are not contradicted by deficient intellect or deficient culture. Moral and spiritual fitness must be held by the churches as the only sure evidence that the conviction of a call is not a delusion.

I believe with all my heart in the absolute indispensableness of a divine call to the ministry, and I would ordain no man who did not believe that God had called him. To go before one is sent is in this matter temerity and sacrilege. All the more blessed is he who hears God's voice speaking inwardly and saying: "If thou wilt take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth." "Say not, I am a child: for to whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt go, and whatsoever I shall command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid because of them: for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord."

It is not enough, however, for the preacher to hear a divine call. He must also receive a gospel message. John Henry Newman said once that the difference between a poor preacher and a good one was that the former had to say something, and the latter had something to say. It is one thing to have a burden, and it is another thing to have a definite message. There is a substance to the glad news of salvation, and the first

business of a man called to the ministry is to get possession of it. What is he to preach? This is a momentous question. The faith once for all delivered to the saints,—this has been handed down to us. We are bidden to commit it to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also. Paul regards the truth of God as a sacred deposit, and he urges Timothy: "Keep thy deposit"; "keep the good deposit." It is a treasure of which he is a steward, and, like a good steward, he expects to give account for the least jot and tittle of that which has been committed to him.

Getting possession of this substance of the preacher's message generally comes later in point of time than the preacher's call to the ministry. Paul, after the Lord had called him, spent three years in Arabia, receiving instruction from Christ, before he was ready to declare his gospel. Jesus spent forty days in the wilderness under the tuition of the Spirit, before his ministry began. And this is divine wisdom. The teacher must first be taught. The man who practises medicine without having ever studied medicine will certainly have fools for patients. The man who practises law without ever having studied law will get his clients into greater trouble than they had before. And the minister of the gospel who has no time to learn what the gospel is, and who fancies that the world is waiting for his message when he has no particular message to communicate, is just as shortsighted as the unfledged lawyer or physician. That God has called him to preach makes it all the more needful that he should preach the preaching that God bids him, and to do this he must give time to the study of God's truth.

I know well that this truth is contained in the Scriptures; and that, when no teachers can be had, a man can get the truth, or at least some of it, from the Scriptures for himself. But the guidance of human teachers may save one from many mistakes and may shorten his labors. French and German without a master results in very curious specimens of French and German. So interpretations of Scripture without study of the laws of interpretation may result in the wildest vagaries. Scripture is not a series of disjointed fragments but an organic whole. Each part is to be judged not by itself alone but in its connection with every other part. The Bible says: "There is no God"; but it does not teach atheism, for if we take the text in connection with its context we read: "The *fool* hath said in his heart, There is no God." So the verse is to be interpreted by the book of which it forms a part, and the book by the Testament, and the Old Testament by the New. Texts, like railway coupons, are "not good, if detached."

The average college graduate, though brought up in a Christian family and trained in a Christian college, has not yet that knowledge of the Bible nor that habit of putting its truths together which make him a trustworthy teacher. What he has learned of Scripture he has learned fragmentarily. We listen to the Christian experiences of many young men who seek to enter our seminary. Almost all of them are college graduates, and they are men of good natural intelligence. Yet I have been pained to find in many of these cases that their relation of experience makes no mention either of sin or of Christ. The two foci of the Christian ellipse

they seem ignorant of. Yet it is in part a *seeming* ignorance. When questioned, they acknowledge the influence of great truths which at first they seemed to ignore. In their own consciousness they lay all the emphasis upon their own efforts and decisions, and have no thought of the work of the Spirit of God. It shows how unfitted they are to instruct others, how greatly they need to be taught the meaning of their own experience, how much greater knowledge they require of the word of God.

Some of them are full of agnostic and necessitarian notions fatal to any effective understanding or preaching of responsibility, guilt, atonement, pardon, retribution. They have imbibed these notions too often from unchristian college instructors, and from the reading of skeptical books. Yet these same young men have often a zeal, which would be precious if it were not zeal without knowledge. The colored physician in New Orleans advertised that his first object was to remove the disease, and secondly to eradicate the system. Some of our untrained ministers have succeeded in eradicating the whole system of Christian doctrine. With proper instruction they may become ardent and able advocates of Christ's truth. Without instruction they are ready to be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and even to deny the deity and atonement of our Lord.

A Christian experience, a divine call, and a gospel message are needful as qualifications for the ministry. Let me add a fourth qualification which is supernatural, namely, spiritual power. By this I mean the demonstrated presence and seal of the Holy Spirit given in connection with the preacher's labors. By their fruits

ye shall know them. We should insist in every council of ordination upon some evidence that the work of the candidate has been made by the Holy Spirit the means of leading sinners to Christ and of awakening and reviving the church of God. This is what I understand to be the "proving" of which the apostle speaks, and to be the difference between the novice and the true workman.

I have myself advocated the Scotch method of requiring the candidate to preach an actual trial sermon before the presbytery, that they may judge whether God is with him and whether he is a minister of the Spirit. We want men who will speak the words of God with something of the power of God. Principal Fairbairn says well: "We have lowered the ministry by lowering the standard of the men who can enter it. They tell us that the age of the pulpit is past. The age of the pulpit is only coming, but it will be the age of a competent pulpit." I will add to these excellent words of Principal Fairbairn that a competent pulpit is never a merely intellectual pulpit. It is a pulpit that adds to sound doctrine the power of the Holy Ghost.

They tell us that in Siberia the milkmen deliver their milk in chunks. It is frozen solid. The milk of the gospel in warmer countries is often delivered in the same way. It comes from a cold heart and it has no power to warm the hearts of those who receive it. The authority with which our Lord spoke should be the model for us. It was not the submissiveness and gentleness of Peter and John that impressed the Sanhedrin. We read rather that when they saw the *boldness* of Peter and John, they took knowledge of them that

they had been with Jesus. With Jesus is the secret of power, and we can learn it only from him. He can give us strength of heart, so that we can speak as the very oracles of God. And therefore as my last word to any who may be debating the question of their earthly calling I would say : Decide only in the presence of Jesus. Seek first a living experience of union with him. You cannot tell what your own powers are, until you are filled with his Spirit. You cannot tell what duty is, till he speaks within you. A score of objections and difficulties will vanish, when once the love of Christ constrains you. The ministry will cease to seem confining. Christ's service will be perfect freedom, when you once are possessed of the liberty with which he makes his people free.

I can assure you of this because I have found it to be so. I entered the ministry from a sense of duty. I did my work conscientiously but slavishly. Preaching and praying were hard tasks, and God was far away. Men were converted, but I had less and less interest in directing them ; the fountains of feeling seemed dried up ; I began to think God had taken his Spirit from me, and that I had committed the unpardonable sin. I was set to contend with a whole universe of evil influences ; the world, the flesh, and the devil were against me ; I was alone, and there was no eye to pity and no arm to save. No wonder that heart and flesh failed, and I was ready to perish. Vacation came, and I resolved first of all to learn where I stood before God. I gave myself to Bible reading and to prayer. I saw that the first apostles were in no such state as mine. They were eager, joyful, confident. What was the secret of their bold-

ness? Ah, it was a present Christ! The Lord was with them and they knew it. I read the last chapters of John's Gospel. The parable of the Vine and the Branches assumed a new significance. Christ was not far away,—he was the life of the believer. "Is it true, O Lord, that thou art in me, that thou didst take possession of me at my conversion, that thou didst form an indissoluble union with my poor weak soul? Hast thou indeed been in me ever since that day, and hast never deserted me, even though by my unbelief I have shut thee out from the best rooms, and have banished thee to the remotest attic and corner of my being? And art thou waiting now only for my opening of the doors to fill every apartment and to flood the whole house with thy light and love?"

So I took my Lord at his word, I found him within, I gave him full control, I appropriated him. And, with that appropriating faith, the last vestige of my darkness and fear disappeared. My weakness was at an end. Work for Christ was joy, for it was he that wrought in me. Instead of contending single-handed against a universe of evil influences, I found that I could not make one effort for my own spiritual progress or for the spiritual good of others without his setting in motion all the wheels of nature to help me. The Lord had come suddenly to his temple, and the glory of the Lord shone round about me. I could accomplish more in an hour than I had been able to do in a month before. Praying and preaching were a delight. Men's ears and their hearts were opened to my words. I was the instrument of a higher power, even the Christ of God, the Creator, Upholder, and Governor of the whole earth. And so

after many months of weakness and despondency I got my first glimpse of that spiritual power which is the most essential qualification for the ministry of the gospel.

I have tried to show you that natural gifts and general culture may rightly be demanded of one who seeks to enter the ministry. But I have also tried to show you that the supernatural qualifications are still more important, a Christian experience, a divine call, a gospel message, and a spiritual power. If you have the natural gifts and the Christian experience, then it is a most solemn question whether you have not also the divine call. If so, then I urge you to possess yourselves, by faithful study, of the gospel message.

But do not stop there. Rest not, until the outward word has become an inner word, and you know of an indwelling Christ, and the Holy Ghost has come upon you, and you are endued with spiritual power. It is a glorious thing to preach the gospel when the power of God rests upon you; but it is worse than useless to preach in the mere weakness of human nature. Better never enter the ministry, than enter it an unspiritual man, to do a perfunctory work. The Spanish fleet was burnt and destroyed at Manila in large part because Admiral Dewey attacked it before it had had time to get up steam. A battleship without steam is not so contemptible and idiotic a thing as is a Christian minister without the Spirit of God. Let us wait for the promise of the Father, and when he, the glorious third Person of the Godhead, has taken possession of us, we can go into battle mighty to the casting down of strongholds and of every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God.

ERNEST RENAN

HIS LIFE, AND HIS LIFE OF JESUS

THE northwest province of France is Brittany, and the northwest department of Brittany is Finistère. Next east of Finistère is the department of Côtes-du-Nord. Into the northernmost part of Côtes-du-Nord there runs a narrow tongue of the sea, and at the southern extremity of this little bay is situated the ancient cathedral town of Tréguier. The bishopric passed away with the Revolution, but there remained a conglomeration of monastic edifices which served for the establishment of an ecclesiastical college. Cut off from all trade and industry, Tréguier became a town of priests and a nursery of Catholic learning.

It was here that Ernest Renan was born in the year 1823, and, until his death at the age of sixty-nine, he bore the marks of his birthplace and of his early surroundings. He was of a yielding and even effeminate nature; in his childhood he preferred the society of girls, for boys called him "Mademoiselle" and would not play with him. His chief pleasures were those of the imagination; he was a natural dreamer; he spent hours in the nave of the cathedral, gazing upward at the airy lightness of its arches, or outside the structure, absorbed in contemplation of its soaring spire. He had much reverence for God as an object of vague and sensuous aspiration, though the thought of God as a God

of truth and holiness seems never to have occurred to him. Everything beautiful and artistic found ready access to his mind; for the moral he had no eye or ear. In this respect he was like Goethe. Perhaps, like Goethe, he owed his æsthetic bent to his story-telling mother; though in the great German gayety and fancy sometimes gave place to a sense of the sublime, which was never seen in Ernest Renan. Neither one, however, got beyond the worship of Beauty, and Renan's prayer to Athene on the Acropolis of Athens vividly reminds us of Goethe's apotheosis of Helen of Greece. Both of them thought a return to paganism to be the only way of salvation.

In his later days the brilliant Frenchman contributed to the "*Revue Des Deux Mondes*" a series of articles entitled "Recollections of My Youth." He tells us in his introduction that they must not be taken too seriously; like Goethe's "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*," in which truth is mingled continually with poetry, they present to us ideal pictures rather than photographs of real life. We may be sure, however, that the author does not give too dark a view of his own character or of the incidents of his personal history. They furnish us material for a most interesting psychological study. But they do more than this. They enable us to correct a false impression with regard to the real grounds of Renan's desertion of the Roman Church and his subsequent opposition to the accepted doctrines of Christianity. The man and his beliefs are in this case so inseparable that a careful review of his "Recollections" will yield us much of practical as well as theoretic instruction.

When the idealistic and critical young Renan was put to school in mediæval Tréguier, it was like planting an oak in a flower-pot; there was certain to come a time of expansion and the growing tree was sure to burst the barriers that kept it in. The honest priests who taught him knew nothing of the nineteenth century; they imparted the knowledge of Latin by the hardest and most old-fashioned of methods; to them submission and devotion were the only virtues and an ecclesiastical ambition the only ambition that they could either permit or comprehend. The place was enveloped in an atmosphere of mythology. Miracles were not unfrequent. Upon the eve of the festival of St. Yves, Renan tells us,

The people assembled in the church, and on the stroke of midnight the saint stretched out his arms to bless the kneeling congregation. But, if among them all there was one doubting soul who raised his eyes to see if the miracle really did take place, the saint, taking just offense at such a suspicion, did not move, and, by the misconduct of this incredulous person, no benediction was given.

He was born with a disposition which he calls "moral romanticism"; and, if we omit the word "moral," we may grant the correctness of his self-characterization. It is certain that for him morality was merely a matter of sentiment, and even his "Life of Jesus" finds in the Saviour of the world only the hero of a romance. But this taste for the ideal helped to make of him a most industrious student. As a natural consequence of his assiduity in study he was destined for the priesthood. The priests, his teachers, furnished his only pattern in life; he aimed to become a professor in the College of Tréguier. Commercial pursuits seemed mercenary

and degrading; the priesthood offered every needed opportunity for scholarly growth and æsthetic culture; he chose, therefore, the clerical calling.

It was hardly a sacred calling. It does not appear that he ever had any sense of his own moral needs or of the moral needs of the world. No conviction of sin ever visited him. No thought of a world lost and needing redemption ever led him to the choice of his vocation. Instead of all this there was an overweening confidence in his own powers and virtues. He credits himself with "an extraordinary force of enthusiasm and intuition." He speaks of his "gentle disposition and studious habits," of his "silence and modesty," of his "unchangeable good temper, moral healthfulness, and well-balanced mind." St. Yves, he says, "endowed me with a spirit of content, which passeth riches, and a native good-humor, which has never left me." He had "an absolute inability to be resentful or to appear so." In youth,

The old-fashioned book which I used for making my examinations of conscience was innocence itself. There was only one sin which excited my curiosity and made me feel uneasy. I was afraid that I might have been guilty of it unawares. I mustered up courage, one day, to ask my confessor what was meant by the phrase: 'To be guilty of simony in the collation of benefices.' The good priest reassured me, and told me that I could not have committed that sin.

Unless we keep in mind his remark that "what one says of one's self is always poetical," it will be difficult to understand the long descriptions which he gives of his own gifts and graces. He prides himself, for example, on being superior to the desire for riches, free from

all temptation to display, unvaryingly polite, and immaculately pure in life. His own accompanying confessions make it necessary to take these claims with some reserve. He acknowledges what he calls the "petty tyrannies" of his childhood. He perceives that the mocking spirit which possessed him needed to be curbed. Even his virtues at times seem to him to be the result of an easy-going nature rather than of settled principle :

My amiability, which is in many cases the result of indifference; my indulgency, which is sincere enough, and is due to the fact that I see clearly how unjust men are to one another; my conscientious habits, which afford me real pleasure; and my infinite capacity for enduring *ennui*, attributable perhaps to my having been so well inoculated by *ennui* during my youth that it has never taken since, are all to be explained by the circle in which I lived and the profound impressions which I received.

He claims to have lived a life far above the average, in large part because his natural gifts were so greatly improved by training :

"My masters," he says, "taught me logic, and their uncompromising arguments made my mind as trenchant as a blade of steel." "I should have succeeded in any variety of intellectual application." "I was better versed than any living Frenchman, with the exception of M. Le Hir, in the comparative theory of the Semitic languages." "I should have quitted the seminary without having studied Hebrew or theology. Physiology and the natural sciences would have absorbed me, and I do not hesitate to express my belief—so great was the ardor which these vital sciences excited in me—that, if I had cultivated them continuously, I should have arrived at several of the results achieved by Darwin, and partially foreseen by myself." "I am the only man of my time who has understood the characters of Jesus and of Francis of Assisi."

These utterances of Renan belong to his later life, but they show very plainly that humility was no part of his mental outfit.

M. Dupanloup, who had elicited from Talleyrand a dying confession of faith and who afterward became Bishop of Orleans and a Life Senator, was in Renan's youth the director of a theological school in Paris. He was on the watch for boys of talent, and his scouts penetrated the provinces. It was reported to him that in Tréguier a promising pupil was to be found, and Renan was bidden to come to the metropolis. He had even at the age of fifteen distinguished himself by the remarkable gracefulness of his writing. Art in the arrangement of words and ideas was a gift of nature to him; this secured his election in 1878 as Member of the French Academy; a pellucid and piquant style—a sort of poetry in prose—is his greatest legacy to posterity.

Praise had already roused the boy's ambition, when a new world opened before him. Imagine the little student from the country, sensitive and shy, but alert to receive every new impression, coming from the homely monastic rule of his unworldly priests to a Parisian seminary, where religion was perfumed and rose-colored, a matter of tapers and flower-pots, of ribbons and musk, yet where the searching light of modern history and science was permitted to some extent to shine in upon the cloudy glories of ecclesiastical tradition and miracle. Is it surprising that a religion of sentiment and superstition gradually gave way before a growing knowledge of nature, and that one who had never sounded the depths of his own heart and had

never found Christ an anchor to his soul should have been swept from his moorings by literary ambition and materialistic philosophy?

Père Hardouin observed that he had not got up at four o'clock every morning for forty years to think as all the world thought. Renan was a laborious student and he too began to think for himself. One of his tutors read to the boys certain extracts from modern books.

"One of these books," he says, "produced a singular effect upon me. Whenever he began to read from it I was incapable of taking a single note, my whole being seeming to thrill with intoxicating harmony. The book was Michelet's '*Histoire de France*,' the passages which so affected me being in the fifth and sixth volumes. Thus the modern age penetrated into me as through all the fissures of a cracked cement. . . It was a great surprise to me when I found that there was such a person as a serious and learned layman. I discovered that antiquity and the Church are not everything in this world, and especially that contemporary literature was worthy of attention. I ceased to look upon the death of Louis XIV. as marking the end of the world. I became imbued with ideas and sentiments which had no expression in antiquity or in the seventeenth century."

He became acquainted not only with modern literature but with the arguments of the skeptics. These often came to him through the weak replies of his professors. He remembered the arguments after he had forgotten the replies.

In proportion as the foundations of my religious faith had been shaken by finding the same names applied to things so different, so did my mind greedily swallow the new beverage prepared for it. The world broke in upon me. Despite the claim to be a refuge to which the stir of the outside world never penetrated, St. Nicholas was at this time the most brilliant and worldly

house in Paris. The atmosphere of Paris—minus, let me add, its corruptions—penetrated my door and window. . . My old Brittany priests knew much more Latin and mathematics than my new masters, but they lived in the catacombs, bereft of light and air. Here the atmosphere of the age had free course. In our walks to Gentilly of an evening we engaged in endless discussions. I could never sleep of a night after that; my head was full of Hugo and Lamartine. I understood what glory was, after having vaguely expected to find it in the roof of the chapel at Tréguier. In the course of a short time a very great revelation was borne in upon me. The words talent, brilliancy, and reputation conveyed a meaning to me. The modest ideal which my teachers had inculcated faded away; I had embarked upon a sea agitated by all the storms and currents of the age. These currents and gales were bound to drive my vessel toward a coast where my former friends would tremble to see me land.

While his fellow-students could not settle down to study the divinity of the schools, Renan informs us that he became “as fond of it as a monkey is of nuts.”

“Theology and the study of the Bible,” he says, “absorbed my whole time, and furnished me with the true reasons for believing in Christianity and for not adhering to it. For four years a terrible struggle went on within me, until at last the phrase, which I had long put away from me as a temptation of the devil, ‘It is not true,’ would not be denied.”

If he had cast off only the superstitions of ecclesiasticism, while he held fast the central truths of Christianity, we could not have blamed him. Unhappily, the Celt and the Gascon were mixed in his blood. Impulse and audacity drove him to the opposite extreme. As he continued his studies, he found himself diverging farther and farther from the orthodox faith. At the seminaries of Issy and St. Sulpice, where his work was

less literary and more theological, he came first to doubt and then to abandon one belief after another to which he had previously adhered, until one of his instructors startled him with the passionate exclamation: "You are not a Christian!"

Seven years of study had made him an unbeliever. It was impossible for him longer to think of becoming a priest. And yet to give up the priesthood was to resign all his previous hopes of a comfortable livelihood, to cast himself upon an unfriendly world, to grieve his mother's heart. For some time he was inclined to compromise by doing secular work in an ecclesiastical institution. Fortunately he was saved from this by the advice of his sister, Henriette Renan, who offered her slender savings as a governess to make his first year independent. He had written to her of the demands of his instructors and of their unwillingness to permit any deviation from the received standards. "They tell me," he says, "that I must accept the whole thing—that, unless I do, I am no Catholic." She begs him to break absolutely with the church, and to take the twelve hundred francs she sends for his support. "Console yourself, Ernest," she writes, "by considering what would be the condition of an upright man bound to teach things his reason did not accept. . . Be guilty of no weakness, no imprudent concession. . . It would be a crime."

A book entitled "Brother and Sister," recently published, consists of Ernest's Memoir of Henriette and of the letters that passed between the two at this critical period of his life. In one of these letters she says most truly: "I have poured my whole existence, dear

Ernest, into yours." The devotion with which she followed his fortunes, sacrificed her time and strength in copying his manuscripts and in keeping his house, supplemented his imperfect taste and vacillating will by her more delicate sensibility and more masculine judgment, is paralleled only in the cases of Dorothy and William Wordsworth, and of Charles and Mary Lamb. When, after years of celibacy, her brother married the niece of Ary Scheffer the painter, Henriette almost died of grief, yet ended by loving her brother's wife as she loved her brother. And the one passage in all his writings which has most of pathos and least of the melodramatic is the dedication of his "Life of Jesus" to the sister who died at his side in Syria when he himself was a victim to the same fever. That passage so well illustrates the airy grace and fascination of his style, that I venture to quote it :

To the pure spirit of my sister Henriette, who died at Byblus, September 24th, 1861 : Do you remember, from your rest in the bosom of God, those long days at Ghazir, where, alone with you, I wrote these pages, inspired by the scenes we had just traversed ? Silent by my side, you read every leaf, and copied it as soon as written, while the sea, the villages, the ravines, the mountains, were spread out at our feet. When the overwhelming light of the sun had given place to the innumerable array of the stars, your fine and delicate questions, your discreet doubts, brought me back to the sublime object of our common thoughts. One day you told me that you should love this book, first, because it had been written with you, and also, because it pleased you. If sometimes you feared for it the narrow judgments of the frivolous man, you were always persuaded that spirits truly religious would be pleased with it. In the midst of these sweet meditations Death struck us both with his wing ; the sleep of fever seized us both at the same hour ; I awoke alone ! . . . You sleep now in the land of Adonis,

near the holy Byblus and the sacred waters where the women of the ancient mysteries came to mingle their tears. Reveal to me, O my good genius, to me whom you loved, those truths which master Death, prevent us from fearing, and make us almost love it !

Renan congratulated himself that he had been loved at least by four women—his mother, his sister, his wife, and his daughter. But he was much more devoted to his studies than he was to them, and for weeks together he was so absorbed in literary work that he could neither answer their letters nor give to them an hour of his time. He had abandoned the church, but he gave his days and his nights to the study of the Semitic languages. He printed a number of essays which attracted attention. He was appointed by the third Napoleon the Director of a Commission for the exploration of ancient Phœnicia. This gave him the opportunity of composing the first draft of his "Life of Jesus" under fresh impressions of the climate and soil of Palestine. In the Holy Land, he says, "before my eyes I had a fifth Gospel, torn yet legible," and his pictures of Syrian scenery and customs, in spite of his own disbelief, have furnished new evidence for the truth of the Scripture narrative. On his return from this expedition he was called to the chair of Hebrew in the Collège de France, but, as he denied the divinity of Christ, he incurred the opposition of the clerical party and in 1864 was forced to resign his professorship. Six years after, however, he was re-appointed, and he held his position until he died in 1892. He aimed to be a scientific investigator, lecturer, and author, in the field of biblical language and literature. Science to him was antithetical to theology. He desired

to interpret the facts of religion from the point of view of mere nature. His "Life of Jesus" was the first book in the series entitled "The Origins of Christianity," which includes further "The Apostles," "St. Paul and his Mission," "The Antichrist," "The Gospels and the Second Christian Generation," "The Christian Church," and "Marcus Aurelius and the End of the Ancient World." The natural introduction to the series is a separate work, "The History of the People of Israel."

Whether the writings of Renan are truly scientific we shall find reason to doubt. In his examination of Hebrew history and literature he wished to divest himself of prepossessions. But in reality he only substituted one prepossession for another. Instead of keeping his mind open to evidence in favor of the supernatural and miraculous, he took for granted at the start that the supernatural and miraculous were incredible and impossible. Let us listen to some of his utterances :

There is no special supernatural or momentary revelation . . . no appreciable trace of any free-will superior to that of man—this is the immovable anchor from which I have never shifted since the first months of 1846. . . According to my philosophy, which regards the world in its entirety as full of a divine afflation, there is no place for individual will in the government of the universe. Individual Providence has never been proved by any unmistakable fact. . . If miracles and the inspiration of certain books are realities, my method is detestable. If miracles and the inspiration of certain books are beliefs without reality, my method is a good one. But the question of the supernatural is decided for us with perfect certainty by the single consideration that there is no room for believing in a thing of which the world offers no experimental trace.

This is only the argument of Hume that things are impossible because improbable. "The ultimate stand-

ard," says Hume, "by which we determine all disputes that arise is always derived from experience and observation." A miracle is so contradictory of all human experience that it is more reasonable to believe any amount of testimony to be false than to believe a miracle to be true. But there is a radical defect in this reasoning. It begs the question, by making our own personal experience the measure of all human experience. The same principle would make the proof of any absolutely new fact impossible. The German philosopher declared that he would not believe a miracle though he saw one with his own eyes. Whately, in his "Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Buonaparte," showed that the same rule would require us to deny the existence of the great Frenchman, for Napoleon's conquests were contrary to all experience, and civilized nations had never before been so subdued. And Dr. Lyman Abbott has recently remarked that

If the Old Testament told the story of a naval engagement between the Jewish people and a pagan people in which all the ships of the pagan people were destroyed, and yet not a single man was killed among the Jews, all the skeptics would have scorned the narrative. Every one *now* believes it, except those who live in Spain.

Notice here that it is not the *method* of the miracle which Renan takes exception to, but rather the existence of any divine *free-will* competent to work it. We are having every day, in the telegraph and the telephone, illustrations of a power over nature which in the Middle Ages would have brought the operator to the stake, and yet no law of nature is violated or suspended when we communicate instantaneously with London or with Hong

Kong. It is reasonable to suppose that "in the hands of perfect and spiritual man," as Washington Gladden remarks, "the forces of nature are pliant and tractable as they are not in ours. The resurrection of Christ is only a sign of the superiority of the life of the perfect spirit over external conditions. It may be perfectly in accordance with nature." If man at his best can work what seem wonders to the uninitiated, surely God can do greater wonders, for he too has free-will, and he is present in all his universe to fulfill the moral purpose with which he made it. If man's will can act directly upon matter in his own physical organism, God's will can work immediately upon the system which he has created and which he sustains. In other words, if there is a God, and if he is a personal being, miracles are possible. As another has said: "A miracle is not a sudden blow struck in the face of nature, but a use of nature, according to its inherent capacities, by higher powers." And can any one who considers man's continual intervention in the world of things doubt that he who made man can intervene also? If man signalizes his presence by breaking through all ordinary sequences and by doing unique things, shall we say that God must run forever in a rut and be forbidden to disclose his heart in incarnation or in resurrection?

As a condition of successful inquiry into matters of Hebrew history we demand therefore that the investigator be not handicapped by the *a priori* belief that events out of the established order are impossible, for such a belief precludes any honest weighing of the evidence in their favor. But, still further, we ask that the inquirer be a man of strong ethical nature. Even



Goethe declared that loving sympathy is essential for productive criticism. Now the Hebrew documents as well as the Hebrew history are the great ethical treasures of the ages. Greece has given us beauty and art ; Rome has given us organization and law ; but Palestine has given us conscience and righteousness. He who would understand the Scriptures, or the life of the Jews, or the work of Christ, must know something of sin and holiness, must be a hater of all falsehood, must recognize a personal God of truth and righteousness. Only he who acknowledges such a God and sees the contrast between his own character and the purity of God, can possibly understand the reason for a supernatural revelation. He who has no God but the God of physical order will regard miracles as an impertinent intrusion upon that order. But he who yields to the testimony of conscience and regards God as a God of holiness will see that man's unholiness renders God's miraculous interposition most necessary to man and most becoming to God. Our view of miracles will therefore be determined by our belief in a moral, or in a non-moral God.

What, now, is the ethical equipment with which Ernest Renan began his work ? A writer in "The Nation" sums up his characteristics by accusing him of "levity, frivolity, diletanteism, intellectual epicureanism, absence of any deep morality." If a profound regard for truth is fundamental to all morality, Renan lacked one of the great essentials, for he was insincere. He had no faith in an objective truth or in the existence of a God of truth who punishes falsehood. Truth to him was a means to an end. For this reason he dealt in phrases, and believed with Talleyrand that the object of language

was in large part to conceal one's meaning. After listening to doctrine with which he totally disagreed, and which he was intending in his skillful way to combat, he always began with the disarming words: "*Monsieur, vous avez mille fois raison!*"—Sir, you are right, a thousand times over!" But more extended quotation from his "Recollections" will make this defect more plain. There he says:

In my writings I have been outspoken to a degree. Not only have I never said anything which I do not think, but, what is much less frequent and far more difficult, I have said all I think. But in talking and in letter-writing I am at times singularly weak. I do not attach any importance to this, and, with the exception of the select few between whom and myself there is a bond of intellectual brotherhood, I say to people just what I think is likely to please them. In the society of fashionable people I am utterly lost. I get into a muddle and flounder about, losing the thread of my ideas in some tissue of absurdity. With an inveterate habit of being over-polite, as priests generally are, I am too anxious to detect what the person I am talking with would like said to him. My attention, when I am conversing with any one, is engrossed in trying to guess at his ideas, and, from excess of deference, to anticipate him in the expression of them. This is based upon the supposition that very few men are so unconcerned as to their own ideas as not to be annoyed when one differs from them.

This absence of sincerity causes Renan no pain, for he writes later on:

All things considered, I should not, if I had to begin my life over again, with the right of making what erasures I liked, change anything. The defects of my nature and education have, by a sort of benevolent Providence, been so attenuated and reduced as to be of very little moment. A certain apparent lack of frankness in my relations with them is forgiven me by my friends, who attribute it to my clerical education. I must admit that in the

early part of my life I often told untruths, not in my own interest, but out of good nature and indifference, upon the mistaken idea which always induces me to take the view of the person with whom I may be conversing. My sister depicted to me in very vivid colors the drawbacks involved in acting like this, and I have given up doing so. I am not aware of having told a single untruth since 1851, with the exception, of course, of the harmless stories and polite fibs which all casuists permit, as also the literary evasions which, in the interests of a higher truth, must be used to make up a well-poised phrase, or to avoid a still greater misfortune, that of stabbing an author. Thus, for instance, a poet brings you some verses. You must say they are admirable; for, if you said less, it would be tantamount to describing them as worthless, and to inflicting a grievous insult upon a man who intended to show you a polite attention.

Was this politeness a real regard for others, or only a selfish way of saving trouble to himself? He has virtually answered the question in defining his views of friendship:

My friends may have well found it much more difficult to forgive me another defect, which consists in being rather slow, not to show them affection, but to render them assistance. One of the injunctions most impressed upon us at the seminary was to avoid "special friendships." Friendships of this kind were described as being a fraud upon the rest of the community. The rule has always remained indelibly impressed upon my mind. I have never given much encouragement to friendship. I have done little for my friends, and they have done little for me. One of the ideas which I have often to cope with is that friendship, as it is generally understood, is an injustice and a blunder, which only allows you to distinguish the good qualities of a single person, and blinds you to those of others who are perhaps more deserving of your sympathy. I fancy to myself at times, like my ancient masters, that friendship is a larceny committed at the expense of society at large, and that, in a more elevated world, friendship would disappear. . . While I have been very fond of my friends,

I have done very little for them. . . I have obliged hardly any one. . . My craving to be just has prevented me from being obliging. . . And yet I have done all the good I could.

Here is an insincere and loveless spirit, altogether unconscious of its moral obliquity. Renan's ethical tone shows a growing laxity. He comes to regard the indulgence of the passions as only a proper manifestation of one's nature. In his later days he regretted that he had not, when he was young, partaken more freely of the banquet of the senses. He recalls with amusement a time in his youth when he was perplexed by a passage in the life of some saintly person of the seventeenth century who compared women to firearms which wound from afar. He tells us that

The comparison between women and firearms made me very cautious, and not till age began to creep over me did I see that this also was vanity, and that the Preacher was right when he said : "Go thy way, eat thy bread joyfully . . . with the woman whom thou lovest" . . . The liberty in which so many giddy youths find themselves suddenly landed was in my case acquired very gradually ; and I did not attain the degree of emancipation which so many Parisians reach without any effort of their own until I had gone through the German exegesis.

It required, indeed, a most liberal exegesis to find in Scripture the warrant for all manner of sins of sense, but Renan was equal to the task. Sin comes not only to be condoned, but to be admired. Listen once more :

A Paradise lost is always, for him who wills it so, a Paradise regained. Often as Adam must have mourned the loss of Eden, I fancy that if he lived, as we are told, nine hundred and thirty years after his fall, he must often have exclaimed : *Felix culpa!* . . . My whole life unfolded itself, as in a general confession,

before my eyes. But the most singular thing was that in confessing my sins I got to like them, and my resolve to become classical eventually drove me into just the opposite direction. . . In Jesus' parable of the Prodigal Son he places morality upon its true footing, kindness of heart. . . I consider that for the future the word *moral* will become improper and must be replaced by another. For many years, I substitute in preference the word *aesthetic*. In looking upon an action, I ask whether it is beautiful or ugly, rather than whether it is good or bad. . . We must increase the sum of human happiness. We must speak no more of sin, of expiation, of redemption; we must speak to man of gayety, of goodness, of indulgence, of good humor, of resignation. As the hope of a future life goes on diminishing, we must accustom these transient beings to consider life as supportable; otherwise they will revolt. Man can no longer be kept quiet except by happiness.

How far this Epicurean gospel could go is seen in other utterances. He had renounced a personal God and all external authority. No law was left but that of his own impulses. His maxim was: "Do what will please you."

Temperance societies are founded upon excellent intentions, but upon a misunderstanding. Instead of suppressing drunkenness for those who require it, would it not be better to make it gentle, amiable, accompanied by moral sentiments? There are so many men for whom the hour of drunkenness is, after the hour of love, the moment when they are at their best. . . Why prevent an unfortunate from plunging for a moment into the ideal? . . . I cannot get it out of my head that perhaps the libertine is right after all, and practises the true philosophy of life. . . The time during which a man loves is the time of his fugitive life when he is at his best. The immense sensation which he feels when he thus emerges in a manner from himself shows that he really comes in contact with the Infinite. Love, understood in a lofty manner, is thus a religious thing, or rather a part of religion. Is

it possible that this old remnant of relationship with nature could have been regarded by frivolity and folly as a shameful remainder of animalism? Is it possible that an aim so holy as that of continuing the species could have been attached to a culpable or ridiculous act? We attribute to the Eternal, by this supposition, a grotesque intention. . . Nature does not in the least encourage men to be chaste.

Renan became a writer of plays, and of plays so pronounced in their suggestion of evil that even the Parisian public was scandalized by them. As he was complimenting a French actress behind the scenes, a wit who looked on remarked that he was spending upon her what he had made out of the "Life of Jesus." These plays seem to have the distinct purpose to consecrate illicit passion by investing it with a glamour of religion, or else to drag religion down to the level of a merely fleshly appetite. In the preface to the "*Abbesse de Jouarre*," Renan justifies himself by asserting that "in the countries of naïve faith, like Brittany, the poor girl who abandons herself, at the moment of supreme joy makes the sign of the cross." And the crisis of this same play is reached when a young man who is to be led out next morning to execution persuades the Abbess of the Convent to yield herself to his embraces, upon the plea that Jesus sacrificed everything for love, and therefore she may entrust her honor to himself and to God.

The man who began his public life with the declaration that the one object in life is the development of the mind, and who in the interest of perfect freedom threw off all authority, seems in his later years to have come dangerously near to committing the sin against the

Holy Ghost. With an irreverence and flippancy which even its wit does not prevent from being blasphemous, he attributes evil to God, and the only excuse we can offer is that evil in his eyes had come to seem a form of good.

We owe virtue to the Eternal, but we have the right to join to it, as a personal retort, irony. We play the farce that has been played to us. We wish the Eternal to feel that, if we have been deceived [in thinking ourselves free and responsible beings] we agree to it willingly and knowingly. We are resigned to lose the interest of our virtuous investments; but we would not like to be exposed to the ridicule of seeming to have counted much upon it. . . God knows I was simple-minded and pure. . . He has betrayed me.

Renan had a pious correspondent who wrote to him regularly every three months simply these words: "There is a hell!" He replies:

This person does not frighten me as much as he believes. I should like to be sure that there is a hell. For I prefer the hypothesis of hell to that of nothingness. Many theologians think that for the damned it is better to be than not to be, and that these unfortunates are perhaps accessible to many a good thought. As for myself, I imagine that if the Eternal, in his severity, should send me first to that dreadful place, I should succeed in getting out of it. I would send up to my Creator a supplication that would make him smile. The reasonings which I would make in order to prove to him that it is by his fault that I am damned would be so subtle that he would have some difficulty in answering me. Perhaps he would finally admit me into his holy Paradise, which must be very tedious. . . If there is such a place as hell, I do not think I have done anything which would consign me to it. A short stay in Purgatory would perhaps be just, and I would take the chance of this, as there would be a Paradise afterwards, and there would be plenty of charitable per-

sons to secure indulgence, by which my sojourn would be shortened.

A recent writer suggests the probable reasons for Renan's preference of purgatory :

There you meet the amiable sinners—those who have walked, as he does himself, on the tight-rope between virtue and vice, between corruption and incorruption—those who have led pendulous lives. He represents to himself this purgatory as an immense park, under a polar light, full of dark shrubberies “where are purified the loves begun on earth. What delicious novels are there finished ! How little people must be in a hurry to leave it, especially for a monotonous Paradise !”

When we read such lines, we ask ourselves : Is the author serious ? What does he really mean ? Is he laughing more at himself than at us ? I answer : It is the mocking of the fool who says in his heart, “There is no God,” and who yet is compelled by the deep necessities of his nature to keep his courage up by pretending that he has no fear.

His effort was to put away the thought of God and of immortality. But now and then instincts that are stronger than his logic assert themselves. His soul is a palimpsest which has had its original writing erased. But the ink has penetrated the whole thickness of the parchment and the chemistry of suffering is able to revive it. In one place we read :

A vast stream called Oblivion hurries us downward toward a nameless abyss. Thou art the only true God, O Abyss. The tears of all nations are true tears ; the dreams of all wise men comprise a parcel of truth ; all things here below are mere symbols and dreams. The gods pass away like men ; and it would not be well for them to be eternal. The faith which we have felt

should never be a chain, and our obligations to it are fully discharged when we have carefully enveloped it in the purple shroud within the folds of which slumber the gods that are dead.

This means simply that there is no personal and living God, and that, to use his own language, "conscious existence is but a passing communion with the universe, designed to carry us more or less close to the divine essence"—the divine essence being simply the unconscious and involuntary principle at the root of all things, which reaches intelligence only in man. Yet the last paragraphs of his "Recollections" seem to invest this principle with some of the attributes of personality :

I have to thank some one—I do not exactly know whom. . . The infinite goodness which I have experienced in this world inspires me with the conviction that eternity is pervaded by a goodness not less infinite, in which I repose unlimited trust. All that I have now to ask of the good genius which has so often guided, advised, and consoled me is a calm and sudden death at my appointed hour, be it near or distant. The Stoics maintained that one might have led a happy life even in the belly of the bull of Phalaris. This is going too far. Suffering degrades, humiliates, and leads to blasphemy. The only acceptable death is the noble death, which is not a pathological incident, but a premeditated and precious end before the Everlasting. Death upon the battlefield is the grandest of all ; but there are others which are illustrious. If at times I may have conceived the wish to be a senator, it is because I fancy that this function will, within some not distant interval, afford fine opportunities of being knocked on the head or shot—forms of death which are very preferable to a long illness, which kills you by inches and demolishes you bit by bit. God's will be done ! I have little chance of adding to my store of knowledge ; I have a pretty accurate idea of the amount of truth which the human mind can, in the present stage of its development, discern. I should be very grieved to go through one

of those periods of enfeeblement during which the man once endowed with strength and virtue is but the shadow and ruin of his former self, and often, to the delight of the ignorant, sets himself to demolish the life which he had so laboriously constructed. Such an old age is the worst gift which the gods can give to man. If such a fate be in store for me, I hasten to protest beforehand against the weaknesses which a softened brain might lead me to say or sign. It is the Renan, sane in body and in mind, as I am now—not the Renan half destroyed by death and no longer himself, as I shall be if my decomposition is gradual—whom I wish to be believed and listened to. I disavow the blasphemies to which in my last hour I might give way against the Almighty. The existence which was given me without my having asked for it has been a beneficent one for me. Were it offered to me, I would gladly accept it over again. The age in which I have lived will not probably count as the greatest, but it will doubtless be regarded as the most amusing. Unless my closing years have some very cruel trials in store, I shall have, in bidding farewell to life, to thank the cause of all good for the delightful excursion through reality which I have been enabled to make.

And this is the man who undertook to write the "Life of Jesus." Renan has well said that "our ideal of a person changes with ourselves." His own life explains his conclusions about Christ. I do not asseverate that Renan was personally or conspicuously immoral. I have little evidence with regard to that matter other than the extracts which I have read from his own writings. Those who heard him lecture in his later days received a two-fold impression. On the one hand they had before them one who seemed to carry a weight of four hundred pounds with a stature of only five feet. From the mouth of this creature of almost porcine grossness, on the other hand, proceeded such a flow of brilliant and persuasive discourse as might have come

from Ulysses if Circe had only succeeded in turning him into one of her swine. All I can say with certainty is that if Renan was not outwardly immoral, the spirit of immorality was in him, and nothing immoral, so long as it wore the air of refinement, would have greatly offended him. And his "Life of Jesus" betrays at least a moral indifferentism, which constitutes an absolute bar to the right understanding of the character and the life of him whom he seeks to portray.

Renan attributes the origin of Christianity to the predominance in Palestine of a constitutional susceptibility to mystic excitements. Christ is to him the incarnation of sympathy and tears, a being of tender impulses and passionate ardors, whose native genius it was to play upon the hearts of men. Truth or falsehood made little difference to him; anything that would comfort the poor, or touch the finer feelings of humanity, he availed himself of; ecstasies, visions, melting moods, these were the secrets of his power. Religion is a beneficent superstition, a sweet delusion,—excellent as a balm and solace for the ignorant crowd, who never could be philosophers if they tried. And so the gospel river, as one has said, is traced back to a fountain of weeping men and women whose brains had oozed out at their eyes, and the perfection of spirituality is made to be a sort of maudlin monasticism.

We see the tendencies of a sentimental conception of Christianity such as prevails in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe. Renan was brought up to look upon religion as a matter of sensuous devotion quite disconnected from reason or practical life, and his writings, which have so justly alarmed the authorities of the

church, are only the plain expression of the inner spirit of Romanism. And this makes it so difficult for Roman Catholics to answer him,—he simply shows them their own faces as in a mirror. The religion that scouts the Bible and makes no provision for the advance of its adherents in knowledge, that makes everything of blind obedience and nothing of private judgment, that exalts emotion and sentiment above morality of life, such a religion must be prepared to see its men of intellect, like M. Renan, excusing themselves from a belief in even its fundamental doctrines, and treating its most solemn facts as a happy device for the satisfaction of superstitious aspirations and fears and for the comfort of the weak-minded and ignorant. Make religion a matter of sentiment alone and you declare its perpetual divorce from science and render it worthy only of the courteous pity of the learned. Christian love will come to seem a wholly unintellectual and unreasoning emotion, quite beneath the dignity of a man of thought.

How different from all this the strong and holy love of Christ, which would save men only by bringing them to the truth, and which claims men's imitation only because, without love for God and for the soul, a man is without truth. How inexplicable from this view the fact that a pure Christianity has everywhere quickened the intellect of the nations, and that every revival of it, as at the Reformation, has been followed by mighty forward leaps of civilization. Was Paul a man carried away by mystic dreams and irrational enthusiasms? Let the keen dialectic skill of his Epistles and his profound philosophic grasp of the great matters of revelation answer. Has the Christian Church been a com-

pany of puling sentimentalists? Let the heroic deaths for the truth suffered by the martyrs witness. Nay, he must have a low idea of his kind, and a yet lower idea of the God who made them, who can believe that the noblest spirits of the race have risen to greatness by abnegating will and reason, and have gained influence over all ages by resigning themselves to semi-idiocy.

And if the later triumphs of Christianity are inexplicable upon the theory of Renan, how can he explain its founding? The sweet swain of Galilee, beloved by women for his beauty, fascinating the unlettered crowds by his gentle speech and his poetic ideals, giving comfort to the sorrowing and hope to the poor, credited with supernatural power which at first he thinks it not worth while to deny and finally gratifies the multitude by pretending to exercise, roused by opposition to polemics and invective until the delightful young rabbi becomes a gloomy giant, an intractable fanatic, a fierce, revolutionist, whose denunciation of the powers that be brings him to the cross,—what is there in *him* to account for the moral wonder which we call Christianity and the beginnings of its empire in the world? Neither delicious pastorals like those of Jesus' first period, nor apocalyptic fevers like those of his second period, according to Renan's gospel, furnish any rational explanation of the origin of that mighty movement which has swept through the earth and has revolutionized the faith of mankind.

Let us thank Renan for certain concessions. "On the whole," he says, "I admit the four canonical Gospels as documents of good faith." He grants that all four belong to the century following the death of Jesus.

He concedes that Jesus accepted the title "Son of David," and connected all reform of the world with his own person.

"The highest consciousness of God that has existed in the bosom of humanity," says Renan, "is that of Jesus. . . The title 'Son of man' expressed his rank as judge; 'Son of God' his participation in the plans and power of the Supreme Being. This power is unlimited. No one knoweth the Father but himself. He forgives sins; he is superior to David, to Abraham, to Solomon, to the prophets. We do not deny that in these affirmations is the germ of the doctrine which subsequently made him a divine hypostasis and identified him with the Word."

And this proposing of himself as the great object of faith, and this attributing to himself of a share in the counsels and the glory of the Godhead, belong, even by the confession of Renan, to the first period of Jesus' ministry, when he was nearest to nature and to God. This is the doctrine that conquered the world, and yet Renan regards it as the illusion of a dreamer.

Let us imagine for a moment that it is true, that Jesus was what he professed to be, the Judge of all, able to forgive, endued with divine power, one with God, the Son of God. Then the advent of divine truth and power upon earth may well have involved a supernatural conception. We do not need to imagine any deception in Jesus' miracles. His resurrection was no illusion of overwrought sensibility. Christianity is not only the central fact of history, but the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ are expressions of the heart of God for which all history is but the incident and the condition. In other words, the universe is moral to the core, and the redemption of humanity by the Son of

God is the very secret of it. He who said "Let your yea be yea, and your nay nay" could not have used deception while professing to restore the moral law, for he was not the founder of Jesuitism but of Christianity.

The moment we take this heliocentric, this Christocentric position, all details fall into order. How superficial, fantastic, and even impious, seem these utterances of Renan :

His beauty, pure and attractive, calmed the diseased organization of Mary of Magdala ; and, in many cases, is not the contact of a beautiful person worth all the resources of pharmacy? . . . In the sepulchre, where Lazarus, comfortably established, awaited his resurrection, there were beautiful chambers where one might feel himself quite at home. . . O divine power of love ! sacred moments, in which the passion of one whose senses were deceived gives us a resuscitated God !

In all this Renan denies to Jesus "sincerity with himself," and attributes to him "innocent artifice" and the toleration of pious fraud. The founder of the religion of truth, love, and righteousness, was an impostor.

These are the straits to which one is reduced who would account for Christianity upon purely naturalistic principles. Truth is made to come from falsehood, morality from immorality, righteousness from unrighteousness. He involves himself in the self-contradiction of denying the supernatural yet giving some credit to the witnesses. How plain it is that "the eye," as Cicero says, "sees only that which it brings with it the power of seeing." Renan sees in Christ only a volatile, plausible, imaginative phrase-maker, and then a soured and bitter member of the French Academy, like himself. *Présensé* has brought out the resulting problem : " Jesus, it

seems, invented nothing, but believed in God as all women and children do. How then did he found a religion? Ah, he was so charming! The peasant saw in the Venus of Milo only a piece of broken stone. 'The exquisite taste of a Goethe,' says Renan, 'would find full scope on such a subject' as the last prayer of Christ. Not so; exquisite taste would make the greatest blunders. A childlike heart, a heart broken on account of sin, not infatuated in its self-conceit, is what appropriates this divine beauty which genius fails to discover, because love alone penetrates love, and like only comprehends like."

There is a lesson from Renan's life and work which not Roman Catholics alone, but all evangelical bodies as well, should learn. It is, that overstatement in religious doctrine is as pernicious as understatement. The treating of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the ecclesiastical miracles of later days as parts of the Christian faith had something to do with Renan's revulsion from orthodoxy. Mrs. Ward's recent novel, "Helbeck of Bannisdale" shows how grievous a burden modern Romanism ties about men's necks in its scapularies and relics, its auricular confession and its papal infallibility. Let us make sure that we do not, by our extra-scriptural theories of inspiration, of sin, and of the atonement, bind men with other burdens which Christ has never meant them to bear. If Renan had had a humble and contrite heart, and a willingness to bow his neck to the yoke of truth and righteousness, he would have been led to Christ and to salvation. Yet woe to those by whom the offense came,—the teachers who foisted tradition and human interpretation

upon the word of God—and so gave occasion for his stumbling.

But, after all, the chief lesson from his story is this: Humility and acknowledgment of personal sinfulness are essential conditions of the attainment of spiritual truth. This deploring of the presence and power of evil in the soul is wanting in Renan. Mr. Gladstone, in the "Nineteenth Century," has quoted him as saying that he had "suppressed the consciousness of sin." And so, failing to sound the depths, he cannot scale the heights. "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." How complete his unconsciousness of sin was, may be judged from the beginning and ending of the Preface to his "Recollections."

One of the most popular legends in Brittany is that relating to an imaginary town called *Is*, which is supposed to have been swallowed up by the sea at some unknown time. There are several places along the coast which are pointed out as the site of this imaginary city, and the fishermen have many strange tales to tell of it. According to them, the tips of the spires of the churches may be seen in the hollows of the waves when the sea is rough, while during a calm the music of their bells, ringing out the hymn appropriate to the day, rises above the waters. I often fancy that I have at the bottom of my heart a city of *Is*, with its bells calling to prayer a recalcitrant congregation. At times I halt to listen to these gentle vibrations which seem as if they came from immeasurable depths, like voices from another world. Since old age began to steal over me, I have loved, especially during the repose which summer brings with it, to gather up these distant echoes of a vanished Atlantis.

Thus he acknowledges that there are voices from the depths of his nature which contradict the unbeliefs and the denials, the self-indulgences and the transgressions,

of his later life. But these voices have no permanent influence upon him. He has learned to argue them down, as the survivals of infantile ignorance. And the more frequently he silences them, the easier his method becomes. And so he can conclude his Preface with these words :

For my own part, I never feel my liberal faith more firmly rooted in me than when I ponder over the miracles of the ancient creed, nor more ardent for the work of the future than when I have been listening for hours to the bells of the city of Is.

REMINISCENCES OF CHARLES G. FINNEY

IN 1792, a hundred years ago, and three hundred years after Columbus discovered America, a great man was born. An obscure village in Connecticut was his birthplace; he had no collegiate or theological training; he was converted when twenty-nine; and yet for forty years he taught in a theological seminary, and for fifteen years was president of a college. His chief education was derived from the study of law, yet he became a mighty preacher of the gospel. It is believed that a hundred thousand persons united with Christian churches as the result of his evangelistic labors, and twenty thousand persons came under his instruction or influence as an educator. In this year 1892, which is the centenary of his birth, it seems fitting that we should commemorate the character and work of Charles G. Finney, and draw some lessons from his example.

For personal reasons, and as a representative of Rochester, I have taken interest in my theme. The city of my birth and residence owes its moral and religious standing more to him than to any other single man. In 1831 the town numbered only ten thousand, and the community was markedly irreligious and skeptical. Mr. Finney's first visit was the occasion of a revival of religion in which the place seemed shaken to

its foundations; twelve hundred persons united with the churches of the Rochester Presbytery; all the leading lawyers, physicians, and business men became Christians; forty of the converts entered the ministry; the whole character of the town was changed.

In the year 1842, at the invitation of the lawyers of the city, Mr. Finney made his second visit to Rochester. The men who had begun a Christian life under his preaching eleven years before had now become pillars in Church and State. They gathered around him like a bodyguard. A thousand persons were converted. Again, in 1856, he made a third visit, and a thousand more joined the churches. It was in this last revival that I myself met with the greatest change I have known since my natural birth,—just as my father, before I was born, was converted under Mr. Finney's preaching in 1831. Circumstances gave me access to him; I came to know the man; I loved him the more, because I saw him misunderstood and heard him misrepresented. I only partially repay a debt of gratitude, when I give my personal reminiscences. To me there is a halo of saintship about his head. That does not prevent me, I think, from perceiving in him certain defects of character and of doctrine, nor, on the other hand, does it prevent me from seeing that this "boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun," was nobly "human at the red-ripe of the heart."

Charles G. Finney was a great man. I have said this already. I must not only repeat it, but I must justify it. He was great in the possession of a natural acuteness and power of consecutive reasoning. So eminent a judge as Sir William Hamilton spoke admiringly of

his logical ability, and declared that one who accepted the premises on the first page of his "Systematic Theology" would be forced to go with him to his conclusions at the end of the book. To his mind preaching was persuasion. With Paul he could say: "Therefore knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men."

His ideas of method in preaching were based upon his experience as a lawyer. He stood before an audience, not as a tyrannical schoolmaster before cowering youngsters who were to be brow-beaten and threatened into obedience, not as an artful demagogue before the rabble whose passions were to be roused until the worse appeared the better reason, and action was determined on at the cost of sense. Instead of all this, the audience was his jury, and he was an advocate before it, appealing to intellect and judgment, and asking for decision in his favor only because God and truth were on his side.

So his notion of a sermon was that of a chain of logic, link after link so forged and bound together that escape from his conclusion was impossible. The elaborateness of his sermon-plans would be almost amusing, if they were not so instinct with life and power. His sermon on "Christians the Light of the World," has five main divisions; the subdivisions are respectively eight, six, six, seven, and five, in number; and he concludes with seventeen separate remarks. He had no hesitation in enumerating all these divisions, subdivisions, and remarks, as he went on. The effect was something overwhelming at times. When he preached on the "Searching of Conscience," he specified ninety-five different ways in which men's consciences

were seared; and in a second sermon he mentioned eighty-four others. Long before he got to the end of his categories, the hearer began to realize that his own wickedness was great and his iniquities were infinite.

He aimed to carry the reason first, and he valued no feeling or action that was not based upon conviction. This implied respect for his hearers as intellectual beings with powers of conscience and will. There were no appeals to thoughtless emotion; there was no dramatizing for mere temporary effect; his speech was conversational and colloquial in the extreme. But he had great natural gifts; he was of noble height and nobly proportioned; he had an eagle eye that seemed to pierce and search the very heart; he had a voice of great compass and clearness; at times he thundered and lightened in the pulpit, and again there was a softness and sweetness in his pleading that moved and melted all. There was an ever-present logic, but it was logic on fire.

The fire was the fire of righteousness. Mr. Finney was a man of mighty conscience. He bowed himself before the majesty of the divine law and he made others bow before it. He deeply felt that everything must yield to the claims of right, and that not an instant's delay in obedience to God could be tolerated. When he had set the truth before a congregation he pressed them to immediate decision. One day, in the great church at Oberlin, he had preached a most searching sermon upon neglects of duty, which suddenly and without warning he concluded with the words: "Let all who are not right with God and who will now forsake their wicked ways and unrighteous thoughts, arise!" A

Christian woman who was present and who had been deeply agitated by the sermon, after an instant's hesitation whether she should acknowledge that she had been living all her Christian life like a hypocrite, decided the question by rising. She expected to find herself standing there alone, but when she looked around, two thousand people were on their feet with her.

The unregenerate man who came to reside in Oberlin had a hard time in those days. When he appeared in the Sabbath congregation, Mr. Finney seemed to be leveling his shafts directly at him. The same Mr. Finney sought him out in private and urged him to give his heart to God. His name was mentioned in private circles of prayer. A dozen Christians set themselves singly and together to talk with him and labor for his conversion. The place became hot for him. To many a man the alternative became practically this, either to be converted or to leave town.

There was something very unconventional at times in Mr. Finney's way of impressing truth. A young man of quiet temperament called to see Mr. Finney. The preacher bade him be seated by the stove, while he himself finished a letter he was writing. After five minutes' silence he advanced toward the visitor, with the words: "Well, what is it?" "Mr. Finney," was the answer, "I have been thinking some time about the subject of religion, but I have no feeling at all." The preacher replied only by seizing the poker from the floor and by aiming an apparent blow at the young man's head. The young man, of course, dodged. "Ah," said Mr. Finney, laying the poker down, "you feel now!" Then, without another word, he went back

to his desk and began writing again. His visitor, chagrined, outraged, insulted, as he seemed to himself to be, left the room in anger. But then he began to meditate. It dawned upon him that Mr. Finney might have been acting a parable before him. He had only intended to teach him in this rough way that, if he had so much feeling in view of an iron poker, he had much more reason for feeling in view of hell. That young man was not simply converted,—he became an exemplary Christian, and for forty years he served as deacon in a Baptist church.

The roughness of Mr. Finney's manner belonged chiefly to his early years. It was the result in part of natural impetuosity and in part of defective training. He could at times say hard things of those whose doctrine he opposed and whose practical action he deprecated, as, for example, when he declared that there was a jubilee in hell whenever the Presbyterian General Assembly met. But when we remember that this was in 1831, at the time of the bitter wranglings in the Presbyterian church which preceded the disruption, we shall see that the rough phrase had some shadow of justification.

When Oberlin became a principal station on the underground railroad by which fugitive slaves escaped from bondage, Mr. Finney was asked what he would do if a fugitive could be rescued from the kidnapper only by taking the master's life. "Do?" said he, "do? I would kill him! And yet I would love him with all my heart!" There is so much good theology in that utterance that it has ceased to provoke a smile in me. It illustrates what so many are inclined to deny, namely,

the possibility of a conflict between righteousness and love in the divine nature, a conflict that is reconciled only by an eternal sacrifice—"the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world."

His logic was on fire with love as well as on fire with righteousness. While he was a very Paul for close dialectic, he was a very John for emotional fervor. I have never known the man who combined such clear and remorseless logic with such a flood of feeling. How often have I heard him in his sermons pursue sinners with the inexorable demands of law, strip them of their excuses, hunt them out from all their refuges of lies, show them up before God and men as desperate and hardened transgressors, and then, after this denunciation, how often have I seen him in view of such amazing depravity burst into loud weeping, and, after a pause, in which he struggled to recover himself, end his address with most pathetic pleading that those whom he addressed would turn from their sins and live. The appeal of compassionate love brought men to repentance, where mere law and indignation would have hardened them in their opposition to God.

When you came to know that sympathetic and tender heart, you had the means of solving many a problem presented by his speech and conduct. To many he seemed a mass of contradictions. Seeing one side of him, they could not believe that there was any other side. The truth is that his sensibilities were ready to meet any call; he hated wrong as vehemently as he loved the right; the same man who flamed out against moral evil would fairly melt in presence of the sorrow which that evil brought in its train.

He never learned the art of concealment; words were never used to hide his meaning; whatsoever the heart felt the lips were apt to utter. All trial and suffering inexpressibly pained him. A woman in important station was lame. Mr. Finney never could look upon her without pity. But he also could never meet her without expressing his sympathy and sorrow for her infirmity. At last she said to him: "Mr. Finney, do you not see that your constant reference to my lameness must bring to my mind what I try to forget? How can you distress me so?" "My good woman," he replied, "I never thought of that. I am very sorry I have mentioned it. I will never do so again." The next time he saw her hobbling along, his heart was touched just as of old, and the old words of compassion were ready to spring from his lips. But he curbed the impulse, and, as he came up to her, he addressed her with the assurance: "Now I'm not going to say anything about that!"

He was an admirer of beauty, and when he admired he found difficulty in hiding his admiration. In Oberlin he was monarch of all he surveyed, the king who could do no wrong, the very patriarch of the village. As he walked on the board sidewalk one day, he saw approaching him a handsome young lady who had newly come to town. She had never met Mr. Finney. What was her surprise to see this majestic figure stop short in her pathway, and to hear a fatherly voice utter itself to this effect: "My daughter, I have never seen you before. Where are you from? You have very pretty black eyes. Do you love the Lord?" His quick perception of beauty was closely connected with the desire that

the beauty might be consecrated to Christ. The thought of the soul's salvation was uppermost after all.

I am quite aware that many will find it difficult to understand how thoughts of this world and of the next could lie so close together. I can only say that Mr. Finney was a child of nature, with a child's simplicity and a child's impulsiveness. One day at his own table a young woman ventured the remark that she expected never to marry. "Never marry?" answered he. "Why, that is wrong. Why will you never marry?" "Oh, Mr. Finney," was her reply, "the man who wanted me I should never want, and the man I wanted would never want me." "Ah," said he, somewhat mollified, "I see. Your tastes are superior to your attractions. It is sometimes so."

The same simplicity characterized his prayers. He had a childlike confidence in God, and prayer to him was a pouring out of heart before God. Nothing was too great, nothing too small, to attract God's notice and regard. Was he merry? he could be merry before the Lord. Earthly concerns and heavenly,—all were expressed to God. And here was the secret of his power. He talked with God, like Moses, face to face. From the time of his conversion he was accustomed to spend not only whole hours but whole nights in prayer. In those early days there were struggles and visions the narration of which would suggest the possibility of overwrought excitement, if it were not that such great results followed in the power of his preaching and in the conversion of souls. Paul seems to have had just such experiences. Perhaps we should have more of them if we had natures as deep and consecration as entire.

And yet, as years went on, struggle and ecstasy were less marked features of his praying. He brought everything to God, but then he rested in God. Without effort and without delay, he took it for granted that God would hear and answer. No one who ever heard him pray could doubt that to him God was a reality, more real than earthly friends, more present than the worshipers whose prayers he led, more loving than any father upon earth, more considerate of our least necessities, and more willing to respond to our least petitions, than any earthly mother ever was. He could be free with God, because he loved God, and knew that God loved him.

There was a man in Oberlin, who had gone to the length of making a compact with the devil. Goethe makes Mephistopheles say to Faust :

I to thy service *here* agree to bind me
To run and never rest at call of thee ;
When over *yonder* thou shalt find me,
Then thou shalt do as much for me.

Strange as it may seem, the man I speak of did, in this nineteenth century, so far as his own purpose and act could accomplish it, sell his soul to Satan. He made out a written contract and signed it with his own blood. In a time of deep religious interest this man became deeply convicted of his sins. But he was in despair. He declared that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and that for him there was only a fearful looking for of judgment. The case roused the sympathy and the zeal of Mr. Finney. Should Satan be suffered to triumph over Christ? Not so. Jesus could

dispossess Satan, and could save to the uttermost. Mr. Finney set himself to obtain this blessing. All night long he prayed for the man's deliverance. It was an awful struggle, but just at the dawn Mr. Finney felt that God had answered him, and he went to his bed. And the next day the man out of whom Satan had been cast was found clothed and in his right mind like the Gadarene demoniac.

There are many stories current about Mr. Finney's prayers, which, if we took them at their face value, would seem to show that at times he was irreverent and even profane. To those who knew him best these stories are susceptible of a very different explanation. Most of them are gross exaggerations. The circumstances and the manner in each particular case, when they are understood, make it plain that the familiarity which he used was as far as possible from that of the sensationalist who makes prayer a means of rousing an audience, or from that of the blasphemer of whom it may be said that God is not in all his thoughts. They were simply the unconventional utterances of a profoundly believing and childlike spirit who was at home with God and who spoke his most casual thoughts into his Father's ear. If God was the God of nature as well as of mind, why could he not answer prayer by physical means as easily as by spiritual? Mr. Finney believed, when the interests of Christ's kingdom required it, that God not only could but would answer by fire, even as he did in the days of Elijah.

The summer of 1853 was marked by a prolonged drought. Agriculture was at a standstill; the roads were turned to dust; the wells were drying up; dumb

creatures were suffering for thirst. Clouds came and went, but all signs failed, and no rain fell. On a certain Sabbath afternoon, at the regular time for service, when the sky was clear, Mr. Finney's heart was touched by the common need, and he was moved to pray for rain. "O Lord," he cried, "thou seest how the earth is parched, and the cattle are dying, and the squirrels in the woods can find no water. We want rain. O Lord, send us rain, for Jesus' sake. Let not the clouds pass over, as they have done, and discharge themselves into the lake; for thou knowest that there is water enough in the lake already. Send rain, O Lord, for thy people and for their cattle!" So he closed his prayer and went on to his sermon. He had hardly begun to preach when the heavens began to darken; after a little a great cloud broke, and the rain came down in torrents. The preacher stopped his preaching and called on the whole congregation to give thanks by singing the hymn

When all thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys,
Transported with the view, I'm lost
In wonder, love, and praise.

Next to Mr. Finney, Professor Morgan was the greatest personage in Oberlin. A mild and scholarly man, as great in exegesis as was Mr. Finney in theology, he furnished the exact complement to the gifts of his chief. The two were lifelong friends. They always sat together in the pulpit. When Mr. Finney was to preach, Professor Morgan led the devotions of the sanctuary; when Professor Morgan was to preach, Mr. Finney prayed. Professor Morgan often grieved Mr. Finney

by his slowness and by the metaphysical nature of his discourse. Mr. Finney felt it necessary to pray for him after this fashion : " Dear Lord, here is Doctor Morgan. He knows more than any of us ; but, O Lord, thou knowest how lazy he is. Stir up his activities to-day. Help him to preach. Give him great simplicity, so that we shall not all have to stand on tiptoe to understand what he says."

When Mr. Finney was absent on his evangelizing tours in England and elsewhere, Professor Morgan officiated in the great church. There were seasons of drought then also, and Doctor Morgan tried his hand at praying for rain. And rain did come, but in no great abundance. The whole community revered Doctor Morgan, and there was no disposition to depreciate his piety. Yet it became a current saying in Oberlin that, " while Professor Morgan could make it drizzle, it took Mr. Finney to make it pour."

Mr. Finney himself, however, was not always so successful as he desired. He had prayed for rain on a certain occasion, and a slight shower had fallen during the night. Next morning, at family prayers, which took place regularly at 6 A. M. and 6 P. M., he was heard to say : " O Lord, we thank thee for the shower that fell in the night ; but we find, by stirring the ground with a stick, that much more rain is needed, and we pray that thou wilt send it when convenient, that is, when it seems good to thee."

At these household prayers all the concerns of the household were laid before the Lord. William, the hired man, was present, and William one morning heard this petition rise : " Dear Lord, bless William,

and help him to remember to shut the barn-doors, for thou knowest that, if I am cumbered with such cares as these, I cannot give my mind to the care of souls." And when a visitor was just about to take her departure from his house, he prayed: "Now, Lord, bless this young lady. Thou knowest I have tried to do her good; but, O Lord, thou knowest she is *so* peculiar!"

He had a great aversion to debt, and he hesitated long before he would consent to dedicate to God a church edifice that was neither wholly completed nor wholly paid for. But he finally surmounted the difficulty thus: "O Lord, we offer this house to thee. It is not yet finished, indeed. But we remember that we have frequently offered ourselves to thee and thou hast accepted us, though thou knowest that we are far from being finished yet."

The possibility of entire sanctification in this life, and the duty of believing prayer that God will grant the blessing, early became a peculiar tenet of the Oberlin theology. If the average inhabitant of Oberlin had been asked to point out some living example of this entire sanctification, he would doubtless have mentioned first of all the name of Mr. Finney. In spite of his peculiarities, his unworldly life, his boundless sympathy, his passion for souls had profoundly impressed his fellow-citizens. And yet I found that Mr. Finney was far from counting himself as entirely sanctified. Many a time has he declared that in revivals of religion the risings of ambition and self-complacency were such as to horrify him. For hours he would lie on his face before God, humbling himself for his sin and crying that he could never preach again until God delivered him from himself.

I once visited him after he had been ill with brain fever, and when he was slowly gathering strength again. Young as I then was, he poured out his heart to me in the most childlike and pathetic way. "Oh," he said, "it has seemed to me, during these weeks, as if Satan had been let loose upon me. All my past sins have come up before me. Thousands of things that I had forgotten loomed up again in my memory. Things I had never dreamed of as sinful showed themselves to torment me. It seemed to me as if I should be overwhelmed by the revelation of my wickedness, and that if God had not reached down to the very depths to save me I should have been lost forever."

How true it is that the best of men are farthest from fancying that they have attained, or are already perfect! This advocate of entire sanctification could use language of himself which would have done credit to Jonathan Edwards. Nor did he practically acknowledge that others had attained to perfect holiness any more than he. After he had fully recovered from his illness and the dialectic element in his nature had begun again to assert itself, I put to him the question: "Mr. Finney, have you ever seen a Christian man who in your judgment was not only free from overt transgression, but was also free from all risings of evil impulse and desire?"

"Well," he replied, "I have seen some persons who thought they had reached that state."

"Ah, yes, Mr. Finney," I said; "but that does not answer my question. What I want to know is this: Have you ever met any one whom you think to have been free from all wrong thoughts and desires, as well

as from all acts of sin?" And that question I could not get him to answer. Theory was one thing and practice was another. Increasing knowledge of God's law and increasing observation of human life led him, I believe, whether he ever modified his theory or not, practically to accept in their plain meaning the words: "There is none that doeth good,—no, not one;" "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

And yet his great merit was that he preached God's law. He applied it to himself as well as to others. He demanded the instant surrender of sin. In his early days he had been addicted to the use of tobacco, and without any particular thought as to its propriety he continued to use it after he began to preach. But one day a good Christian man, seeing the tobacco-box in his hand, said to him: "Brother Finney, do you think it is right to use tobacco?" It was the first time the question had been propounded. "Right?" he replied; "right? No, of course it isn't right. Here, you take this tobacco and keep it till I call for it." And he never touched tobacco afterward.

Not only tobacco and intoxicating drink of every kind were the objects of his pronounced opposition, as harmful in themselves and as utterly unjustifiable expenditures of the Lord's money, but for a time also even tea and coffee came under the ban as unnecessary self-indulgence. It was the criticism of Charles Hodge apparently that restored the balance and brought him to right reason. But during many of the early years of Oberlin's history, there was an ascetic atmosphere in the new town which savored more of the law than of

the gospel. Not only was holiness of life insisted on, but you were so plainly told what holiness required, that there was little room left for private judgment. Sensitive consciences found the yoke heavier than they could bear, and it weighed them down into the dust.

Here comes to light a certain one-sidedness in Mr. Finney's conception of Christianity. It was too much law and too little gospel. His preaching of law was searching, convincing, powerful; but it was not sufficiently supplemented by the doctrine of freedom in Christ; faith, indeed, seemed sometimes to bring the Christian under another law whose requisitions were more rigorous and minute than the old. There were persons of an introspective mind, self-distrustful and timid, who were harmed by his preaching. A morbid conscientiousness was developed. The subjective side of religion, with its self-examination and its fears, became the whole of religion to them. They cultivated the analytical element until they lost courage and hope. A more objective religion, a more entire abandonment of heart and life to Christ sometimes followed, but it was after terrible doubts and struggles.

I do not say that all experienced this harmful influence of the continual preaching of law,—for the mass of hearers it perhaps served only as the schoolmaster to bring them to Christ. But weak and fearful souls did get harm as well as good, and the hearing of the gospel of free grace and of an ever-present Christ was like life from the dead. Mr. Finney himself had a vigor and health that prevented him for any long time from being too introspective. His love for beauty and his natural spirits helped to tone down the excessive

rigidity of his early teaching as, for example, when a young woman, stirred up by his denunciations of gay attire, asked him his judgment about wearing a ribbon on her hat. "Do you think I could wear a plainer bonnet?" she asked. "Yes," replied Mr. Finney, "you might wear a chip tied on your head, but I don't think I would."

His preaching of law was providentially ordered. The times needed it. Orthodoxy had stiffened into something very like Antinomianism. In the conviction that it is God that worketh in us, it had been sometimes forgotten that we are to work out our own salvation also. The churches settled down in selfish contentment and put forth no efforts for the rescue of the perishing. It was thought by some that efforts of this sort were presumptuous interferences with God's peculiar work, and that the saints must wait God's time to save sinners. And sinners on their part were lulled to sleep also,—what could they do to promote their own salvation? They could not submit to God, they could not believe, they could not even pray a prayer that was not sin. The sinner's inability was conceived of as a physical inability,—the inability of the man physically dead to raise himself to life.

Against all this Mr. Finney inveighed and stormed. He showed that the *cannot* is simply a *will not*; that the only obstacle to the sinner's salvation is the obstinacy and hatefulness of his own evil will; that he is under no necessity of remaining in his sins; while yet it is certain that he will so remain unless God interposes by his Holy Spirit. God's working and man's working are simultaneous. Only when man submits

and believes wil. he know that God is working in him. He is not to wait an instant then ; waiting is aggravated rebellion and increase of guilt, because it is sinning against light ; immediate surrender of the soul to Christ is the first and the only present duty of the sinner.

All this doctrine, which we now see to be perfectly consistent with Scripture and with Calvinism, was a scandal to many of our fathers. They had confounded the logical precedence of God's action with a chronological precedence. They believed in an interval of time between the divine cause and the human effect. Hence they strenuously objected to "the anxious seat"; and when Mr. Finney urged those who would then and there forsake their sins and submit to God to come forward, these objectors declared that Mr. Finney's invitation implied that salvation was a matter of the human will alone ; they would have urged the same persons to seek and pray and wait if, perchance, God would have mercy upon them.

Mr. Finney denounced all this as encouraging the sinner to disobey God's commands and to disbelieve his promises. And in this he was right. His preaching, in distinction from the old revivalists, like Nettleton, emphasized the willfulness and guilt of continued disobedience and made renunciation of sin and acceptance of Christ a matter of immediate duty. In this respect his doctrine and his methods are a permanent gain to the church ; they have become commonplaces in our belief and practice. They have done much to close the chasm between religion and morality,—for we no longer believe that a formal and idle religion will save.

They have done much to make preaching effective,—for we no longer aim to educate men for future conversion, but rather to bring them to immediate decision for God.

If Mr. Finney had had a profounder conception of law, his theology would have more permanent influence. Great preacher of the law as he was, it may seem presumptuous to criticise him here. But at this very point of strength lay also a point of weakness. Lawyer as he was by instinct and by training, he failed to ground law in the holiness of God, and made it too much a matter of expediency. It was the old error of Grotius. Government was a means to the good of being, rather than an expression of God's nature. From its germinal statement in Jonathan Edwards down to Nathaniel W. Taylor's extended treatment, this idea is the ruling idea of New England theology. And Mr. Finney derived his theology from Taylor as much as from any other man. As Dr. Taylor's system of theology is actually entitled "Moral Government," Mr. Finney's "Systematic Theology" is little more than a treatise on moral government under another name.

How significant and instructive it is to find that, in Horace Bushnell, moral government becomes moral influence only, and in the "New Theology" the very idea of government has dropped out of the system, and a comparatively unmoral fatherhood has usurped the place of righteousness! Be sure that when you divorce government from holiness and make law a matter of expediency, you will not be able long to believe in either moral government or moral law. It will be well for the current theology of New England if it does not go farther and make evolution an exhaustive account of

God and the universe, denying free will and sin, Christ's deity and atonement, and that regeneration by the Spirit of God which is the complement of these. For these truths of God's word Mr. Finney would have laid down his life. Yet he held to conceptions of law and of government which were logically inconsistent with their permanent and universal validity and which historically seem to be leading to their overthrow.

Yet Mr. Finney thought he was doing God service when he denounced the Old School views of depravity and of regeneration. He attributed his success largely to his protest against what he called ancient errors. But Mr. Spurgeon perpetually emphasized the very tenets which Mr. Finney denied, yet Mr. Spurgeon was the means of converting as many sinners as Mr. Finney. How plain it is that God uses imperfect agencies to accomplish his purposes! A little truth thoroughly believed makes its way in spite of much error mingled with it. God keeps the wheat and burns the chaff. The word of the Lord abides forever.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Finney and Mr. Spurgeon. They both sprang from a humble stock. Of both it might be said that they had a homely genius. Both hated doctorates and declined them. Mr. Finney and Mr. Spurgeon were greater than Doctor Finney and Doctor Spurgeon ever could have been. Both knew their way straight to the popular heart. Both could use the vernacular English with a swift and straightforward energy which was more effective than any flights of eloquence. Both of them were mighty in prayer and mighty in the Scriptures. Both of them lived for God and for souls. The main difference was

one of emphasis. While Mr. Finney laid the main stress upon law and man's responsibility, Mr. Spurgeon laid it upon the gospel and God's sovereign grace.

But the truth which Mr. Finney accepted he held with a tremendous grip, and he preached it with a tremendous power. He was, above all things, a man of God, a man who lived in hourly communion with God, a man upon whom rested the power of God. There was something sublime in the self-forgetful authority with which he commanded and subdued an audience. No one could despise or ignore that overmastering personality. He appealed to the sinner as though Christ himself were beseeching through his lips, and his warnings were like premonitions of Christ's sentence at the judgment day. Never before any preacher have I so felt that he was a mere vehicle and instrument of the Holy Spirit. The one great aim of his ministry and of his life was to save souls.

He was not greatly interested in theological speculation. Only as theology affected men's salvation was he ardent in his study of it. Theory was valuable only as it had to do with practice. His constant evangelizing kept his doctrine from bringing forth all its natural fruits. The incessant effort to bring sinners to God will counteract the influence of much closet error. The men whose aberrations from the faith surprise and vex us are not men whose strength has been spent in direct personal preaching to sinners,—they are rather the literary and scientific and socialistic essayists who have vibrated between the study and the pulpit, with little knowledge of human sin and little appreciation of the grace of God.

Mr. Finney lived through the days of agitation with regard to slavery, yet he very seldom made slavery the subject of a sermon. He groaned in spirit when he heard that one of his theological students had given a mere literary address in a neighboring town, where he might have preached a sermon. The sneering description: "As dull as Doctor B——, when he has nothing but the gospel to preach," would never have applied to him. The gospel was his one and only theme. I doubt whether he ever delivered a literary or scientific lecture in his life.

And yet how much more powerful he was than he would have been, if he had tried to be orator or statesman or reformer! It is a grander thing to regenerate men than it is to teach them morality. To plant in them a new force is nobler than to guide that force in its exercise. The impartation of new force by regeneration,—this should be the first aim of preaching. Sin and salvation,—these are the preacher's themes. Mr. Finney's history shows that these themes can be made to interest men more deeply than any tricks of oratory can. Men like earnest dealing with their souls. Fear is a power to move them as well as love. Daniel Webster wanted to have the preacher drive him into the corner of the pew, and persuade him that the devil was after him. And this was precisely what Mr. Finney did.

He was raised up at a time of dead orthodoxy in the church and of skeptical apathy in the community, to rouse both church and community from slumber, and to bring in a better day of faith and zeal. The Broadway Tabernacle was the fruit of his first labors in New

York City; and a theological school was projected and begun in this same city, in the years 1834-1835, the object of which was to train men as evangelists. That school was afterward transferred to Oberlin, and Mr. Finney went with it. I have often wondered what the results to the church and the world would have been if the original scheme had been carried out, and Mr. Finney had been permitted in the metropolis to educate young men of gifts and culture to be his successors.

Do we need anything so much, in this day of laxity and skepticism, as the raising up of another Finney to rouse the churches and to set them on fire for God? In this easy-going age, when the doctrine of God's "Papahood" has well-nigh superseded the doctrine of God's righteousness, ought we not to pray that in that great commercial center, with its three millions of outlying population, there may be established such a school of evangelists as Mr. Finney contemplated? Would to God that Baptists might awake to the possibilities that open before them, and that they might give to the world preachers of law and gospel like Charles G. Finney!

LOVE ABOUNDING IN KNOWLEDGE¹

THIS is one of those prayers which reveal to us Paul's heart. That was a vast range of affection which could embrace at the same time thousands of converts scattered over Europe and Asia, yet bring the wants of each with ardent desire and minute particularity before the throne of the heavenly grace. The profound thoughtfulness of these petitions is no less remarkable; no random praying here, no good wishes for the sake of compliment, but a keen perception of real needs, followed by that concentrated pressure of supplication which Coleridge declared to be the intensest exercise of the human understanding.

There were reasons why the apostle should pray for this church with peculiar earnestness. It was the child of persecution and many stripes. He remembered that fearful, blessed night at Philippi when, amid the shock of earthquake and the bursting open of prison doors, the church was born. He could not forget that when other friends had deserted him the loving care of these Philippian disciples had never failed, and their ministrations had lightened his toils and sorrows not only at Corinth, but also in his dungeon at Rome. To think of Philippi was a rest and refreshment to his soul, for no church

¹ A sermon before the Ohio Baptist Education Society, on the text, Philippians 1 : 9, 10 : "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment, that ye may approve things that are excellent."

to which he wrote during his whole ministry presented so many features for praise and so few for blame.

Yet all this only made Paul long more fervently for the *completeness* of their Christian character. Nothing to his mind was done so long as anything yet remained to be done. Will it seem almost ungracious for him to speak of their long-*tried love* as needing in any respect correction? Paul can do even this for their sakes. There is a defect in that love as yet; it lacks balance and steadiness; it is incautious, impulsive, indiscriminating. They need a broader and clearer view of truth, a more practised wisdom, a more delicate spiritual perception, and the great burden of his prayer is that these gifts may be added to their rich endowments of love and zeal. "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment, that ye may approve things that are excellent." Here is a theme somewhat out of the line of our common thought, but abounding in important practical applications, namely: THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN LOVE TO CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. A few main points will give us at least an outline of the subject which may be filled up by subsequent reflection.

The first thought implicitly contained in the passage is this, that love, though it is the essential element in all virtue and the very motive power of religion, is not rightfully independent of the other faculties, but is subject to regulation and control. Nothing can be more true than that love is the central principle of a religious life. We shall all agree that any obedience which does not proceed directly or indirectly from love is of no moral worth, however perfect it may seem to be; while,

on the other hand, true love involves in itself every other grace and virtue as the flower is contained in the seed, so that love is the very fulfilling of the law.

And yet you see at once that we do not ascribe this degree of excellence to every kind of love. The man who loves a dog more than all the world besides attracts no admiration. The passionate devotion that wastes itself in insane idolatry of a mean and loathsome character is a disgrace to the man or woman who cherishes it. Love has no moral value except as it is placed upon a proper object and bestowed in some due proportion to the worth of that object. The affections and sympathies of our nature are worthy of approbation in just the degree that they are regulated and controlled by reason and principle. Mere possession of a fund of generous, enthusiastic feeling is not sure evidence of a right heart, for that feeling sometimes responds as quickly to the seductions of vice as to the sober attractions of virtue.

We sometimes say that religion consists in love, and we mean that it puts a love into the soul so high and pure and grand that all minor and selfish loves are crowded out of sight; but it would be more strictly true to say that religion consists in a new direction of our love, a turning of the current toward God which once flowed toward self. There was love of a poor sort in our hearts before; religion creates no new faculty, it only teaches us a new and rational application of one we had already. Christianity rectifies the affections, before excessive, impulsive, lawless,—gives them worthy and immortal objects, regulates their intensity in some due proportion to the value of the things they rest upon, and teaches the true methods of their manifestation.

In other words, the essence of Christianity is not simply love, but "love abounding in knowledge and in all judgment."

In true religion love forms a copartnership with reason. The idea of an infinite holiness and beauty and goodness furnishes the mind for the first time with a correct standard of judgment; it begins to estimate the worth of things according as they affect the interests of God and the soul. So there is an order restored in the realm of the affections, an order which constitutes a part of our original likeness to God; for God's love is no arbitrary, wild, passionate torrent of emotion, rushing any whither without reason or method, but a calm, deep river, flowing on in the perfect peacefulness of infinite wisdom. God's love is never wasted or misdirected, but expended under supervision of an unerring intelligence and holiness, and we become like God by bringing our emotions, sympathies, affections under the dominion of reason and conscience.

If religion did nothing for us but to increase our power of loving, that love might be the sport of every impulse, blown about by every chance suggestion, and drifting hither and thither like a balloon at the mercy of the winds. Religion does better for us than this. While it gives us love as the motive power of a new and holy life, it furnishes an instructed reason as a balance-wheel to guard this inward energy from self-destruction. Having reconstructed the machinery, it sets man's nature on the right track, and starts it on the straight and even road for a noble and symmetrical and life-long progress. For the work is endless. Finite knowledge has always room for growth, and so the

Christian's task is to exhibit a wiser and wiser love, more thoroughly regulated affections, more discriminating sympathies, so long as life endures. Thus permanent is the demand for a regulative principle to control and direct the motive power of our nature.

Yet there are those who, consciously or unconsciously, hold that religion has no necessary connection with knowledge. The second thought suggested by the text is therefore this: Any theory which makes religion consist wholly in affection, sympathy, impulse, sentiment, unreasoning and uncontrolled, is fatal to correct views of Christian doctrine and in practice cuts at the root of all morality. I fear that some of our modern theology, in its reaction from the old Puritan and legal conceptions of righteousness, is preaching a gospel of mere emotion. It is claimed not only that love is the fundamental attribute of God, but that love is the all-inclusive and only attribute of God; that righteousness is but a form of benevolence, a method of showing God's kindness, which has no value in itself apart from its tendency to produce happiness, and the inference is sometimes drawn that God would himself as readily be unrighteous if unrighteousness would only lead to as pleasurable emotions as those which flow from righteousness. Righteousness is held to be simply God's self-love, and self-love only love in one form of its manifestation.

After what has been already said, I hardly need to point out that any scheme of the divine attributes which reduces them all to love, fails to supply any standard by which this love is to be regulated. An attribute which is conditioned is conditioned by that which is higher

than itself. If love is to abound in knowledge and in all judgment, then there is some higher principle to which love is bound to conform. In God the impulse to self-communication is ever under control of the impulse to self-affirmation. Even Jonathan Edwards, who held virtue to be the love of being in general, declared that God must find his supreme end in himself.

It is like the relation of the sun to the planets of the solar system. The sun must first be its own center, if it would be the center to the system. The sun could not revolve around the planet without bringing the planet to destruction and the whole system to confusion. So God's righteousness is the regulative principle of God's love. Love cannot be the supreme attribute in our theology, because love always operates under the regulation and control of an attribute still higher, namely, the righteousness or holiness of God, and a love that is uncontrolled by reason and justice furnishes no proper basis for law or responsibility or sin or atonement or retribution—in short, no proper basis for Christian theology.

We have another illustration of the fruits of a religion of mere emotion and impulse, in the later phases of our modern spiritualism. We may call spiritualism a religion, for its most advanced advocates claim it to be an improvement upon all religions the world has seen. The critical question with every religion is, of course, this: What constitutes its authority? Spiritualism speaks slightingly of the Bible as good enough for its day, but as worn out and behind the age. New revelations from the spirit-world are supposed to take its place, and as these revelations often thoroughly contra-

dict each other, each man's feeling must determine what to accept and what to reject. The actual result is that each has revealed to him just what he wishes to believe; his own erratic inclinations are his religious authority. Leaving the safe anchorage of Scripture, he floats about a credulous pursuer of the wildest vagaries, until he makes utter shipwreck of his faith.

Well for him if he always stopped even here. But there is a still darker abyss of ruin ready to engulf him. He who trusts his own wishes as to Christian doctrine, rather than accept the authority of God's word, easily comes to accept impulse as supreme authority in matters of common morality. Woe to the man to whom impulse is law and religion, for Satan has control of impulses, and he sometimes puts into men's hearts impulses to lying, adultery, and murder. Woe to the man to whom love has come to mean the darting from cloud to cloud of an inevitable lightning, who knows nothing of affection but desire, who justifies lawlessness on the plea that the feelings are irresistible. Oh, how many a home has this religion of impulse turned into a haunt of defilement and shame! how many a fold of domestic peace has it desolated! how many a soul has it beguiled into a living death here and hereafter!

Hold thou the good : define it well :
For fear divine philosophy
Should push beyond her mark, and be
Procuress to the lords of hell.

Such are the results of any theory of religion which deprives the affections of their regulative principle. And yet we scarcely realize the extent to which false

views upon this fundamental question pervade our social and family life. A deluge of passionate romances is flooding the land and insidiously undermining the foundations of popular morals. The innermost idea of them is this: that love, the master-passion, is uncontrollable and irresponsible, subject to no rules, bending all laws into subserviency to itself, and justifying any course of conduct which only promises to insure its gratification and triumph. No wonder that the young people who read these novels in the weekly periodicals come to believe that affection is a wayward, arbitrary thing, to be conceived at a moment's notice and to be put aside as quickly when the humor turns. Nothing is more needed among the young than the conviction that God has not left the emotions and passions out of the range and control of law, and that for the proper regulation of the affections we are accountable.

Our family life shows the same great lack. The parent excuses his over-indulgence of his child on the plea of love—winks at disobedience instead of reproving it—cannot bear to restrain because of excessive desire to please. Such love as this is only another form of selfishness—unwillingness to endure a little present pain and struggle for the sake of the child's soul and the child's future. The growing laxity of family government in our day shows that love does not yet abound in knowledge and in all judgment. And the church too often shows the same weak tolerance of evil among its number, when the safety of its growing members and the honor of Christ in the community demand the exercise of its discipline and the separation from it of the unworthy.

If it is a duty then to direct and control the sympathies and affections, it must be a possible thing, and the common idea that it is hopeless to think of enlarging or repressing, modifying or regulating our emotions must be false. This then is the third point of importance, viz:—Love, though it cannot be controlled directly by a simple effort of will, may yet be controlled by indirect means. Am I bound, for example, by my peculiar relation to another person in the family or in the church, to cherish for him love? Then certain faults of his do not absolve me from that obligation. Am I bound by my peculiar relations to repress a tendency to excessive regard which I find growing up within me? Then no consideration of my own comfort absolves me from that obligation.

For there are two ways by which I may foster or check the growth of my affections, one by directing the train of my thoughts to or from those features of character that tend to excite my affection, the other by the performance of such acts of duty as may tend to increase or destroy my love. Such acts of duty form habits, and habits react upon our inward feelings. Our acts of duty may be imperfect, our feelings may not entirely correspond to them, yet by their means the desired end is steadily promoted. If we cannot wholly succeed, we can at least improve, and it is duty to do what we can. We can learn to love even our enemies, we may conquer our most inveterate passions, if we only take the steps of thought and action which I have suggested, and with the help of God use these means conscientiously and persistently.

Persons of an ardent temperament, under the pres-

sure of disappointment or mental questioning, are often strangely attracted and fascinated for a time by the offer of a haven of rest for their weariness, which they know God has interdicted to them and which conscience itself forbids. There are many long, heroic contests in this world over which no pæans are ever sung,—lifelong contests between duty and inclination. Many a man has fought over and over again an unworthy affection which seemed to rise again as often as it was conquered,—many a woman has struggled for years against the temptation to sell her soul for relief from the care and pressure of poverty, or to fly from the world to the seclusion of convent walls and to fancied repose in the bosom of an infallible church, while yet her reason told her that there was no bosom but Christ's on which her soul could ever truly rest. It is a greater, nobler, happier thing to fight this long fight of faith than to yield to such impulses, however ardent. And God blesses such struggle to the development of magnificent characters, who like Christ can succor the tempted because they have suffered through temptation. Such do find that love comes to abound in knowledge and in all judgment, through this indirect influence of acts of duty habitually performed and thoughts of the right habitually cherished.

One of the aphorisms of the "Aids to Reflection" reads as follows: "An hour of solitude passed in sincere and earnest prayer, or the conflict with and conquest over a single passion or subtle bosom-sin, will teach us more of thought, will more effectually awaken the faculty and form the habit of reflection, than a year's study in the schools without them." It is surprising to see

how soon religion will break up the wasteful wicked habit of reverie and give the power of real genuine meditation. Many and many a young person can scarcely be called a rational creature until he learns from Christ the exercise of his reason. There is nothing like Christianity to develop manhood and womanhood,—for nothing like Christianity creates the habit of moral thoughtfulness. And this introduces the fourth and last thought of my text, viz : This habitual control over our affections and impulses which Paul enjoins tends ever to a state of freedom in the right, in which our emotional nature is no longer bound by the rules of knowledge as by cords of compulsion, but instinctively knows and loves and chooses the right.

This thought is indicated in the word translated "judgment," but better rendered moral tact, spiritual perception, Christian instinct. It is the word from which our terms æsthetic and æsthetics are derived. The apostle is not content to have love abound in external knowledge,—he would have that knowledge converted from an outward rule into an inward principle ; love must abound in intuitive discernment also. We know how the youthful artist works laboriously inside the rules of his art, as within prison walls, never losing the sense of restraint, and we know too how that same artist with growing practice and skill loses all thought of his rules, not because he disregards them, but because they have come to be a second nature to him and he observes them in perfect freedom. Just so the growing Christian finds by slow degrees that the law of God becomes to him a law of liberty.

To this goal of practised and instinctive wisdom

Paul would have us aspire. He does not expect to have us attain it perfectly at once—our love is to abound yet more and more in knowledge and all judgment. But he does expect progress toward it, and constant discipline of all our powers that our progress may become more marked and rapid. The perfect union of love and wisdom is not a dream of fancy. Its ultimate realization is the great hope and prize of the future to all the renewed and adopted sons of God. As Wordsworth has beautifully said in his Ode to Duty :

Serene will be our days and bright,
 And happy will our nature be,
 When love is an unerring light,
 And joy its own security !

Stern Lawgiver, yet thou dost wear
 The Godhead's most benignant grace ;
 Nor know we anything so fair
 As is the smile upon thy face :
 Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
 And fragrance in thy footing treads ;
 Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
 And the most ancient heavens through thee are firm
 and strong !

To humbler functions, awful Power,
 I call thee ; I myself commend
 Unto thy guidance from this hour—
 Oh, let my weakness have an end !
 Give unto me, made lowly wise,
 The spirit of self-sacrifice ;
 The confidence of reason give ;
 And, in the light of truth, thy bondman let me live !

The poet's words are true. We must be sometimes bondmen of duty at the first. So long as the outward

rules of right given in God's word are not inwrought into our being and followed as by instinct, we must follow them from principle. "What!" says one. "Is there any virtue in a half-hearted obedience?" There is more virtue in it, I reply, than in a whole-hearted disobedience. There is more virtue in a long, persistent struggle to bend our feelings into conformity with God's will, than there is in ignoble tolerance of wrong. There is, for example, a certain false liberality, which for the sake of worldly repute and pleasant feeling is willing to ignore the distinctive features of Christian doctrine and even Christ's positive commands. There are those who think, most unwisely as I believe, that our Christian charity ought to lead us as a denomination to admit to the Lord's table those whom we believe to be unbaptized,—in other words, that Christian charity ought to lead us to ignore Christ's own appointed order in the celebration of his sacraments and to suppress the only effective protest we can utter against a perversion of Christ's ordinance of baptism. If love were all that Christ requires of us, the demand might seem plausible; but we remember that our love is to abound in knowledge and all judgment; that we are to love our brethren of other beliefs not less, but the truth more; that we are to act not simply for the gratification of our own feelings of Christian sympathy, but for the purity and ultimate interests of Christ's church.

So too in the delicate matter of amusements and fashions, we are to beware that liberality does not degenerate into license, that Christian freedom does not become looseness of manners, that our religion does not assume that easy-going type which acts from worldly

policy rather than from principle. When we are admonished to let our love abound in knowledge and in all judgment, that we may approve things that are excellent, or better, that we may distinguish things that differ, it is but a poor apology for injustice or laxity to say that our disposition and aim are right, though we may be thoughtless and injudicious in the means we employ to secure it. The very thing demanded is moral thoughtfulness, the exercise of a love according to knowledge, the careful judging of all things by the test of everlasting principle. True religion aims to bring all things, our friendships, our charities, our manners, our praise and blame of others, out from the dominion of unthinking impulse under the firm and even sway of God's eternal truth.

It is only when we consider this need of disciplining and purifying the affections, that we get any proper conception of the dignity and office of God's revelation. So wayward and fallible are our sympathies, that without some authentic declaration of the truth by God himself, we might fall into fatal delusion both with regard to matters of faith and matters of practice. If there is any lesson which history teaches more clearly than another it is this : the absolute necessity of a fixed standard of doctrine and of duty, set up by God himself, to rectify our perverse judgments and regulate the erratic tendencies of our emotional natures.

Do you tell me that human reason is capable of discovering truth by its own unaided powers? that an honest heart may follow its own instincts? that the only standard men need is their own inward ideal of truth and duty? I point you to a single illustration of the

utter futility of such claims. Look at that body of men, under whatever name, who have cast aside the Scriptures as final authority, and who follow no light but that of their own inner sense. No two of them agree together,—no one of them agrees with himself at different times. We want certainties with regard to the soul and God, death and hell, judgment and eternity, and the preacher gives us pleasantly his private impressions for that week. We want none of his impressions,—our own impressions are as good as his ; we want some word of God that shall be authoritative and decisive.

The truth which reason could never evolve has come to us from God. Though we never could discover the truth of ourselves, we recognize it, now that it is revealed to us, just as the inexperienced traveler can recognize the path through the woods when the guide once shows him the marks blazed upon the trees, though he never could discover the way alone. In this word of God then we have the only infallible communication of religious truth, and the only authoritative summary of human duty. Needing, as we ever do, to have our wayward instincts and partial views rectified by comparison with some divine standard, we have this need met and supplied in the Scriptures, which are able to make us wise unto salvation.

Thus God has provided the means for our lifelong progress in Christian love, by giving us the means of an ever-increasing knowledge. We cannot safely neglect God's chosen means of strengthening and developing Christian character. Since it is by the truth that the Spirit of all grace effects the renewal and

sanctification of the heart, we see how indispensable is the constant pondering of the words of God, and the assiduous use of all means for a thorough understanding of them. We can only grow in grace as we grow in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and there never can be growth in knowledge of Christ except through diligent and prayerful study of those inexhaustible treasures of divine wisdom which God has laid up in his holy word.

And so Christianity is a life-work and a life-school. We are being educated for high stations in God's great empire. We are to be rulers over many things in the government of the universe, if we are only faithful over a few things here. We have all seen how quick progress in spiritual knowledge and perception even the beginner in Christ's school may make, if there be only deep love for the Saviour and an honest will. I have seen a rough, untutored young man waked from intellectual lethargy by Christ's light shining into his mind. Surprised at finding himself in a new spiritual world, I have seen him bend all his energies to learn something of himself and nature and God. I have seen him discover, with all the joy of a Columbus, whole continents of truth in God's word, and I have seen him put that truth to immediate use in his own heart and in his influence over others. I have seen, as the fruit of this unremitting practice, a moral tact, a delicate judgment developing itself, until few men among older Christians seemed so intuitively to perceive the first approaches of evil and so instinctively to repel and reject it. From time to time I have noted how larger views of God's great plans have led to larger sympathies and more

open-handed liberality, until sometimes he has seemed to take the whole world and all future generations into the arms of his faith and prayer. And as I have seen his mind growing in knowledge, and his heart keeping even pace with his understanding, and both together lifting themselves up toward God, I have rejoiced in the power of God's grace here, and in the magnificent prospect that stretches away through all coming ages before that ever-developing mind and heart.

I have thought how much better this soul-growth was than growth in poor earthly wealth or poor earthly comfort, and while I have seen him putting his talent to interest and compound interest for his Master, and others, as largely endowed as he, only hiding theirs in a napkin, while I have seen him in Christian activity and zeal and usefulness far outstripping those who began the race before him, I have asked myself what was the reason of all this difference. Ah! it was this: they never had comprehended that the fire of love in the heart of religion could never keep on burning unless it was fed with the fuel of knowledge; that when the means of grace were neglected—the Bible, the closet, the prayer meeting, the sanctuary—the fuel of knowledge was un-supplied, the fire of love must go out, and the man who began his Christian course most fervently must inevitably stop on the track, as dead and useless as the locomotive whose boilers have become icy cold. Another conception of the Christian life—another spirit in the prosecution of his Christian work—had animated him. He had felt that the beginnings of a Christian life were nothing unless that life continued to the end; he had felt that nothing but constant supplies of knowl-

edge from God's word and from living fellowship with Christ's church could keep the fire of love glowing in his heart for a single day; and in that conviction he had given all diligence to add to his faith virtue, and to his virtue, knowledge.

The result has already shown which was wise and which were foolish. But there is a grander day of decision yet to come. I have looked on in imagination to the great day of award and doom and have thought of the difference of their reception then, the one presenting the ten talents he has gained by diligent and faithful use of God's appointed means, while the others come up almost empty-handed, the one welcomed with the plaudits of the great King, the others saved so as by fire, if they are saved at all. And then I have thought that through whatever difficulties one may have to struggle, and whatever sacrifice of time, business, pleasure, one may have to make to attain it, still the wise man's words are true: "Wisdom is better than riches." "Wisdom is the principal thing,—therefore get wisdom!" And how can I better express my desire for you all, young and old, than in the words of Paul's petition: "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all discernment, that you may distinguish the things that differ, that you may be pure and without offense unto the day of Christ, being filled with the fruit of righteousness, which is by Jesus Christ, to the glory and praise of God."

JESUS' ARGUMENT FOR THE RESURRECTION¹

HERE is our Lord's argument for the resurrection. To many Christians it has been a mere puzzle. It has challenged their attention, but they have gotten no meaning out of it. To many skeptics it has been a target for ridicule. They have denied the conclusiveness of the proof; they have called it a mere *argumentum ad hominem*. In both cases the fault lies, not in Jesus' words, but in the ignorance of his interpreters. The argument is certainly put in such form that it can be treated cavalierly by those who are so disposed. But the earnest and thoughtful will find it better than a mine of gold. Let us give to Christ's utterance a reverent and sympathetic study. Be sure that it will convince the intellect and comfort the heart.

Jesus' argument is, that God's saying in the Old Testament that he is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, of itself proves that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob will rise again. At first sight one does not perceive the necessary connection between the premises and the conclusion. But the difficulty

¹ A sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y., Sunday morning, January 15, 1899, on the text, Matt. 22 : 31, 32 : "But, as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."

arises from the fact that some of the links in the argument are suppressed. It is a sort of enthymeme; and an enthymeme, as one has said, is a syllogism in which the major is married to the minor, but the marriage is kept secret. There is no false logic. All we need is to supply the links that are omitted: then the demonstration shines out with unequaled clearness and beauty. It is my purpose to take this argument of Jesus for the resurrection, and, without adding anything to it, simply to expand what is here condensed. If I am not mistaken, three great truths are here implied, and the first of them is this: There are some whom God loves.

More precisely, there are men upon whom God has set a peculiar love. "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" means just this. It is a declaration of God's interest and friendship and care for Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Abraham is called "the friend of God," not because he is friendly to God, but because God is friendly to him. He has been chosen by God, called out from Ur of the Chaldees, separated for God's service and possession. This is the meaning of God's assurance in Gen. 18 : 19. "I have known him"—set on him my special regard—"in order that he may command his children after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord." God has selected Abraham to be the father of the faithful, the beginning of a new line of believers, the founder of a spiritual kingdom of God upon the earth.

And Abraham has responded to God's choice. He has chosen God, as God has chosen him. In his sacrifice of Isaac, he has shown that he trusts God's word

more than he trusts any earthly ground of hope; he loves God more than he loves his only son. Abraham has entered into a living relation to God,—a spiritual oneness with him. He has no interests apart from God's interests; God is his inheritance; his life is in God. Like David after him he can say, "O God, thou art my God," meaning thereby not simply that he worships God, but that he possesses God.

What is true of Abraham is in its measure true of Isaac and of Jacob. Both of them at the critical times of their lives make choice of God, believe his promise, make God's interests theirs. And this faith attracts God's special regard, ensures his favor. He recognizes his relationship, bond, and obligation to them, as they have recognized their relationship, bond, and obligation to him. He enters into covenant with them, as they enter into covenant with him. As they call him, so he calls himself, "their God."

But for God to say to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, "I am thy God," means more than it does for Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob to say to him, "Thou art my God." The love of mortal man is small and faint, compared with that of God. Man's expressions of love must always be discounted, because of his imperfect knowledge of himself, his changefulness, his untruth. It is only when God is with us, when our conscience bears us witness in the Holy Ghost, that earthly expressions of affection are absolutely trustworthy. Happy those who can say, "Our loves in higher love endure," for only that higher love is unchanging. But it is that higher, that infinite, that eternal love that speaks in the words "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of

Isaac, and the God of Jacob." In these words the mighty God condescends to bind himself as in a marriage covenant with children of the dust. The words imply that henceforth their interests are his interests, their future is his future, their life is his life. Everything that concerns them is a matter of concern to him.

Love makes over its all to the object of its affection; it keeps nothing back; it absolutely gives itself. Love spends itself for the beloved; it keeps its powers only to use for him. So God gives himself to his people, and all his attributes of truth and wisdom, of justice and power, are engaged on their behalf. If the great God has set his love upon us, if we have accepted his invitation and taken him to be our God, then we are rich indeed. Since God is our God, we are the objects of a love so vast and so transcendent that all things are ours, and it is all the same as if we were kings and lords of all. God himself is greater than all the universe besides, and to have God is to have all. When God declares "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," he declares that he has given himself to them, and that all his treasures are theirs.

The first thing implied in Jesus' argument for the resurrection is that there are certain men upon whom God has set a peculiar love. The second thing implied is equally important, and I wish now to call attention to it. It is this: God's love can never let go its own. If God has called himself the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, then Abraham and Isaac and Jacob can never perish or cease to be.

For those we love are a part of ourselves. We cannot let them long go out of our sight. We cannot let them die. We yearn after them when they are absent. We make desperate struggle with the accident and disease that would permanently separate them from us.

At the exposition in Chicago, no picture attracted more eager interest than Watts' picture of "Love and Death." Upon that canvas Love, a bright and beautiful youth, is striving vainly to press back from the threshold the sombre figure of Death. Death is a giant, and he is wrapped in a mantle, so that his face cannot be seen. He overtops Love, and tramples under his feet the flowers that have fallen from Love's fingers. He conquers Love, but upon Love's young face there is both agony and resolve,—agony at the thought of temporary separation, but resolve that Death shall yet be conquered and be made his servant and slave. The picture appeals to the universal human heart. It expresses one of the strongest beliefs of our nature. We feel that everything else may perish, but that love cannot die. "Your heart," says the psalmist, "shall live forever." And that is the same as to say that those whom love has made a part of us can never die, any more than our love for them can die.

Robert Hall, the great English preacher, was in his youth a materialist, and had no faith in immortality. But when his father died, and the coffin was lowered into the grave, and Robert Hall looked down upon it, there flashed upon him the conviction that this could not be the end. The fatherly affection which had poured itself forth for so many years could not have ceased; somewhere that love must still live on. Robert Hall

gave up his materialism and became a preacher of Jesus and the resurrection.

This has been the conclusion of the greatest poets. Those who see deepest into the heart of things are believers in immortality, because they are believers in love. Dante, smitten with his immortal passion for Beatrice, gives us his witness: "Thus I believe, thus I affirm, thus I am certain it is, that from this life I shall pass to another better, there where that lady lives, of whom my soul was enamored." Robert Browning inscribed these words of Dante in his wife's Testament, and in a letter written not long before his death he says: "It is a great thing—the greatest—that a human being should have passed the probation of life, and should sum up its experience in a witness to the power and love of God. . . I see ever more reason to hold by the same hope."

And the minor poets follow. How many a widow sorrowing over a husband taken from her, how many a father whose son has been stricken down by his side, has been comforted by Whittier's words:

Yet Love will dream and Faith will trust,
 Since He who knows our need is just,
 That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.
 Alas for him who never sees
 The stars shine through his cypress trees!
 Who hopeless lays his dead away,
 Nor looks to see the breaking day
 Across his mournful marbles play!
 Who hath not learned in hours of faith
 The truth, to flesh and sense unknown,
 That Life is ever Lord of Death,
 And Love can never lose its own!

So, so it is. "Love can never lose its own." It is this great law of love and of life which Jesus applies to God. Those whom God loves are a part of him, and he cannot let them perish. Shall God's love be less than man's? No, it must be greater. "God is not," then, "the God of the dead but of the living, for all live unto him." It is this ever-living and ever-loving God who says to them who are bound to him by ties of faith and affection: "I give unto them eternal life; they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand."

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, then, have not perished,—they are still alive. The body indeed has turned to dust, but the soul is with God. Death was but the taking of them to God's bosom. The life of the saints here is but the beginning of eternal life. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" says Paul. And the answer for substance is: "I am persuaded that neither death nor life shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord." It is the same truth which the old English poet, Henry More, put into his verse:

But souls that of his own good life partake
 He loves as his own self; dear as his eye
 They are to him; he'll never them forsake;
 When they shall die, then God himself shall die;
 They live, they live in blest eternity.

The first truth implied in Jesus' argument was that there are certain men upon whom God has set a peculiar love; the second truth was that God's love can never let go its own. The third truth I have yet

to call attention to. It is this: God's love embraces both the body and the soul, and will therefore reunite them. Has death deprived Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of the bodies which they once inhabited? Then the same love of God which has not suffered the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to perish, will not permanently give their bodies to the tomb. Love will complete its work by bringing soul and body once more together. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall yet possess an outward form suited to the uses of the spirit. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall rise again.

We cannot perceive the full force of this reasoning unless we remember that man is a two-fold creature. Body belongs to him as well as soul. He was not created incorporeal, like the angels; he is not meant to be a pure spirit, like God. The idealism of thirty or forty years ago cast contempt upon the body. People were accustomed to say that they wanted nothing more of the earthly tabernacle, after it was laid away in the dust. The dreams of the future in which the last generation indulged were often extravagant dreams of a bodiless existence in which the soul wandered over the universe without a local habitation or a home.

If modern materialism has done no other service to truth, we may at least credit it with this: It has revived our reverence for the human body, has shown how cunning is its workmanship, has pointed out how great a help it is to the highest delights and activities of the soul. Now indeed we are in danger of falling into the opposite error,—that of imagining that, because soul cannot do its noblest work without body, therefore without body soul cannot work or exist at all. The

Scripture steers clear of both errors, the error of materialism, as well as the error of idealism. It maintains that soul can exist and can be conscious in the intermediate state ; but it maintains also that this intermediate state is one of imperfection, and that the happiness of the righteous will be complete only when the soul receives a body once more in the morning of the resurrection.

That soul and body go together was a truth accepted by all the Jews, and it was assumed by our Lord in his argument. Even the Sadducees did not deny it ; they only held that with the death of the body the soul dies also. Jesus showed them the logical result of their admission. God cannot love the soul without also loving the body. Can we separate the two in our own thoughts of those we love? Do we not cherish the physical well-being of our friends, love the outward form for the sake of the indwelling soul? Are we not jealous of every influence that mars the countenance and brings on signs of age or dissolution? Is it not a pang to us to see the body of one we love go to naught? Even after the spirit has departed, is there not care for the dead? And, if God loves us, will he not care for the body also?

Ah, yes, the living relation to God into which the believer has entered has put dignity even upon the body. The body has been sanctified by God's indwelling. God will not let even the frail earthly tabernacle perish. Though here it has been the home of pain and sometimes the instrument of sin, yet the Holy Spirit has made it his temple. God loved the body of Christ and could not suffer that body to see corruption. And

the apostle transfers all this to the believer. He tells us that "if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because of" (or, on account of) "his Spirit that dwelleth in you."

So our salvation shall not be purely spiritual. It shall include a new and restored life of the body. Just as surely as Christ rose from the dead, so surely shall we rise. Because he lives, we shall live also. He is the resurrection for the body, as well as the life for the soul. His resurrection is the pledge and the type of ours. Therefore, "we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto the body of his glory, according to that working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself."

These words of Paul are only an expansion of the doctrine announced by our Lord himself, only an unfolding of the logical implications of God's love. Body and soul go together. Human nature, in God's conception of it, is not complete with either part lacking. Death is indeed the separation of body and soul, but this separation is only temporary. If soul has been divested of body, that is but the effect of sin. He who has conquered sin has conquered death as well. With the sin that caused it, even the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed. If God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, then they are the objects of God's love. They have not perished, but they are still alive; even their mortal bodies are dear to God; the separation of body from soul, in their case, shall not be eternal. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall surely rise again.

The reasoning of our Lord in this argument is matchless. No proposition of Euclid was ever more conclusively or more beautifully demonstrated. I have tried to unfold it, however, not for the sake of Abraham, of Isaac, or of Jacob, nor simply to prove an abstract and distant truth with regard to them, but to repress the Sadducean doubts that often take possession even of Christian hearts, and to turn the vague hopes and longings of believers into rational and unwavering convictions. On this great matter of the resurrection our Lord has not meant that we should be children. He would have us able to give a reason for the hope that is in us. The grounds for assurance are sufficient, and more than sufficient. He points us to the one mighty fact of love, and he argues that this of itself proves there shall be a resurrection from the dead.

The argument was conclusive even before Christ's death and resurrection. How much more impressive it is now when God's love has been demonstrated by the cross and resurrection of our Lord! If Jesus, even before he died and rose again, could claim that the resurrection of the righteous followed with indubitable certainty from the fact that God had called himself their God, how much greater reason have we to believe, now that our Lord has set the example for us of going down into the grave and of coming up from it a conqueror! In Christ we are the objects of this same omnipotent love of God. Christ is only the "first-fruits of them that slept." His resurrection draws in its train the resurrection of his people. "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring *with him*."

There is much about the future which we do not know, and which it is probably best that we should not know. There are secrets which will not be told until the day when the heavenly Bridegroom shall take home his bride. But we can trust it all to love. "He that spared not his own Son, but freely delivered him up for us all, how shall he not also with him freely give us all things,"—even knowledge, when the fit time shall come. There is much that I desire to know about myself. I may be sure that "the Lord will perfect that which concerneth me." "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

Then shall I see and hear and know
 All I desire or wish below,
 And every power find full employ,
 In that eternal world of joy.

But there is more, if possible, that I desire to know about those whom I love. I rejoice that the great day of the future is to be a day of revelation,—not simply a revelation of Christ to his people, and of his people to themselves, but also a revelation of his people to each other. More satisfying even than the thought of our own future glory is the thought that those whom we have loved and lost shall come to their own once more, shall be arrayed in a loveliness that shall ravish our souls and that shall justify all the sorrow of our long parting.

I might leave the subject here, but I should not do it justice without mentioning two inferences, one of which we *may not* draw, and the other of which we *may* draw,

from our Saviour's words. Notice, first, that Jesus says nothing with regard to the method of the resurrection, nor does our Lord answer the question, "With what body do they come?" Paul answers it only by referring us to the infinite power of God. He intimates that the new body is not to be made up of particles of the old, any more than the growing grain has in it the very particles which constituted the seed: "That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be. God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him."

There shall be some sort of connection between the old and the new, so that the new body shall seem ours and friend shall recognize friend; but it is no doctrine of Scripture, and it is quite unnecessary to suppose, that every particle or any particle of the old enters into the new. I call the Genesee River the same river that it was when the Indians camped upon its banks, yet not a drop of the water that was there then is in the river to-day. I call my body the same with that of my childhood, but all its particles have changed many, many times since then.

Identity does not consist in sameness of particles but in the unity of the informing soul, and nature's elements are an inexhaustible reservoir from which the soul can freely appropriate at each moment whatever at that moment it may need. Here and now sin prevents the spirit from exercising full control over matter; the body gets the upper hand, as it were; the body, with its weakness and occasional deformity, does not perfectly serve the soul nor reflect its true nature. Still it is true that body is the intended vehicle and normal expression of spirit. And the great advantage of the life

to come, over the life that now is, will be that then and there the spirit shall exercise full control over matter; the soul shall get the upper hand once more; the soul shall take to itself a body that will perfectly serve it and will perfectly express its true nature.

For of the soul the body form doth take ;
For soul is form, and doth the body make.

In the day of resurrection, therefore, the sons of God shall not be fettered by any imperfection, or disease, or twist, or abnormality that belongs to the body here. Nature is only the plastic expression of God's mind and will, and there can be no question of his ability to give them such a body as pleases him. And as the saints enter into God's mind and will, each will take the body that suits him. Under the inventive hand of God, matter is capable of wonderful transformations. The same element is now ice, hard and solid; now fluid water, in the cataract; now mist, on which the rainbow hangs; now steam, that drives the locomotive on its track.

So the spiritual body will be a body suited to the uses of the spirit, material indeed, yet possibly as transparent as the air, and capable of motion as swift as the light. Jesus' argument proves, not that we are to enter again this old and worn-out tenement of clay, but that we are to be clothed upon with a house which is from heaven; that we shall receive a new body cleansed from the dishonors of the tomb; that we shall have an outward organism, the outgrowth somehow of the old, but ethereal and sublime, the perfect vehicle and instrument of the sanctified spirit.

And now for a last inference which we *may* draw from Jesus' words. Shall our friends still be ours? Will not the glory to which they have become accustomed lift them above us and make it impossible for them to commune with such as we? Here too, the answer is simply *love*. Love to God is inclusive, not exclusive. The more we love God, the more deeply and tenderly we love our fellows. And the saints above, now that they are near to God, are by that fact nearer to us, for they cannot love God without loving us also; they cannot love God the more, without also loving us the more. And so our longing for them is a pledge of their longing for us. They wait for our coming, even as we wait for them. If God's love for his own is a pledge that they can never die and can never be separated from him, then the love for our friends which he has put into our hearts is also a pledge that they cannot be permanently separated from us.

All true love is one, for love is from God. "If a man die, shall he live again?" asks Job. And the answer is: "All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come. Thou shalt call, and I will answer thee. Thou wilt have a desire to the work of thy hands." In other words, Job argues that because God loves him, God will long for the restoration even of his mortal body, and will bring that body from the tomb. So too, we argue that this same divine love of which we have been made partakers, and which prompts us to desire reunion with the objects of our affection, will not be disappointed. We shall not always stretch out vain hands into the darkness. Some day we shall call, and they will answer. As God's own desire has been repro-

duced in us, so we shall partake of God's own satisfaction. We too shall have our own, and those upon whom we have set our affection shall be ours forever.

Did I say there is much that we do not know? Might I not better have said that there is much that we do know? We know enough for this life of probation and discipline, and what we know not now we shall know hereafter. Let us prize the lamp which love has put into our hands to guide us through the present darkness, and let us wait with patience and hope "till the day dawn, and the shadows flee away!"

I cannot think of them as dead
Who walk with me no more ;
Along the path of life I tread
They have but gone before.

The Father's house has mansions fair,
Beyond my vision dim ;
All souls are his and, here or there,
Are living unto him.

And still their silent ministry
Within my heart hath place ;
As when on earth they walked with me
And met me face to face.

Mine are they by an ownership
Nor time nor death can free ;
For God hath given to love, to keep
Its own, eternally.

THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT

KING JAMES' version of Mark 3 : 28, 29, reads thus : "Verily, I say unto you, All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme ; but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation." The best manuscripts of the New Testament, however, have the word "sin," in place of the word here rendered "damnation," and the Revised version accordingly reads as follows : "Whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin." We have here, in the very words of Scripture, the essence of the doctrine of future punishment. It is plainly taught that there are some who shall never be forgiven, because they are guilty of an eternal sin. A careful consideration of this passage, and of the relation it suggests between punishment and sin, will clear the subject of many of its difficulties, and will show the doctrine founded upon it to be entirely reasonable.

Many of the current objections to the doctrine of eternal retribution are based upon a misconception of the doctrine itself. It is often assumed that the material images which the Scriptures employ to describe the state of the wicked after death are to be interpreted literally. Now it is not probable that even Jonathan

Edwards, who used so often the images of brimstone and fire, regarded these as anything more than vivid symbols of the spiritual inflictions under which the lost are to suffer. He used them because he found the Scriptures using them, and he thought it most safe and most true to follow Scripture. But as there is no evidence that he thought heaven to be essentially a city of golden streets and pearly gates, so there is no evidence that he regarded hell to be essentially a place of outward and physical torment. What he meant was that these images helped men to realize the dreadfulness of future suffering, not that they were literal descriptions of the place and kind of that suffering.

But whatever may have been the belief of Jonathan Edwards, the words in Mark turn our thoughts from the outward circumstances to the inward state. It is of comparatively little importance what the opinions of even good men have been, or what the standards of great Christian bodies have been, if we can only attain to a clear understanding of what the Bible teaches. And in this passage, in which the consequences of the greatest sin of all are declared, we have no mention of bodily torment, but only of spiritual results. He who sins against the Holy Ghost is guilty of an eternal sin, a sin that never ceases; and so, he has never forgiveness; that is, he abides under the anger of God forever.

Another misconception of the doctrine we are considering may be removed by a scrutiny of this same passage. It is often assumed that the punishments which the wicked undergo in the next world are positive and direct inflictions of God. Now it is not necessary

to our present discussion either to affirm or to deny the existence of positive punishments. There are some Scripture passages which seem to assert them ; as where Christ bids us fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell. But what we are now concerned to maintain is this, that positive inflictions are not essential to the doctrine of retribution. There are laws of our mental and moral being that react against sin and work its punishment, whether God lifts his hand in special judgment or not.

Just as a violation of physical laws brings about its results of pain and suffering, without the appointment of any special judge or executioner, so the violation of moral and spiritual laws brings in its train an equally certain retribution. God does not need to set up a gallows or a whipping-post in the universe in order to secure the punishment of sin. In every man's soul there may be a hell of disorder and remorse and anguish, even though the only minister of justice may be the indignant conscience within.

The old Universalism that landed the dying debauchee on the heavenly shore as quickly and safely as the dying saint, is all outgrown. The idea of law is too deeply inwrought into the consciousness of our time to permit the notion of salvation without change of character. The unholy soul must be miserable,—that is the one truth which serves as the key to this whole question. And this inward law of being, which determines destiny according to character, is intimated in Jesus' words. There are those who have never forgiveness, because they are guilty of an eternal sin ; that is, because they are confirmed in their sin and will not forsake it.

With these preliminary explanations we may proceed at once to three separate statements, which contain in them the essence of the Scripture doctrine of eternal punishment. They are the following: First, there are some men who, throughout eternity, will not cease to sin against God. Secondly, this eternal sinning against God will involve eternal misery. Thirdly, this misery will be the appointed vindication of God's law, and so will be an eternal punishment.

Let us take the first point and consider it. There are some men who throughout eternity will not cease to sin against God. In order to make more plain the significance of this statement, we may translate it into other language. Since the great command of the law is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," and the refusal to love God is the one great sin, the proposition may run: There are men who throughout eternity will not love God. Their sin will be a voluntary declination to trust or obey their Creator, a voluntary withholding from him of the affection of their hearts, a voluntary withdrawal of themselves from the influx of his light and love.

Judging of the matter upon purely *a priori* grounds, it might seem impossible for moral creatures thus to decide against God. It might seem impossible for God to permit sin or to inflict punishment. But facts show us that men do sin, and that God has permitted them to sin, while at the same time he punishes their sin, at least in this world. The only explanation of the problem lies in man's freedom. He has a will, which he may set supremely on good or evil, self or God, and then, as a responsible being, he must stand the conse-

quences of his choice. We see what the results of this scheme have been. Men have turned away from God. They dislike his presence and his law. And this dislike becomes confirmed and fixed, until no arguments or influences which can be brought to bear upon them will ever change it into love. This was the condition of those to whom the Saviour uttered the words in Mark's Gospel; or, if it was not already their actual condition, they were in danger of falling into it. They had set themselves against God, and their sin was in danger of becoming an eternal sin, a sin into which they had so put their heart and will that there would be no disposition to retrace their steps, and so their opposition to truth and righteousness and love would be everlasting.

The advocates of universal salvation are usually advocates of an unresisted and absolute freedom of the human will. Many of them declare that man can choose good or evil, at any moment, whatever may be his surroundings, or whatever may be his previous character. He has the power, they say, at any moment, to choose holiness and God. He has equal power, in spite of all motives to a contrary course, to choose sin and Satan. And yet these advocates of unlimited freedom deny the possibility of the will's permanently choosing evil. They are very inconsistent with themselves. They strenuously maintain the inalienable freedom of the human will to make choices contrary to all the motives which are brought, or can be brought, to bear upon it. They grant that, as a matter of fact, we find in this world men choosing sin in spite of infinite motives to the contrary. Upon their own theory of human freedom, no motives which God can use will certainly ac-

comply the salvation of all moral creatures. The soul which resists Christ here may resist him forever. We have no right to say that all will certainly be saved, for there is no limit to man's possible perversity and madness. Only God himself can tell us whether all will accept salvation, and God tells us in this passage of his word which we are considering that there is a sin which hath never forgiveness, but which is so persisted in as to be eternal.

But if the salvation of all is problematical upon the theory of freedom, which has been mentioned, it is far more so upon the truer view that man's volitions, unless special divine influences are granted him, simply express his previous character. Though not necessarily, yet with infallible certainty, this evil tree will bring forth evil fruit. The man acts out what is in him. He has been adding to the strength of his selfishness by the acts of a lifetime. There is a certainty that, unless renewed and transformed by the divine Spirit, he will act selfishly still. And all this is as true of the next life as it is of this. Death is no saviour. Death does not change character. The filthy will be filthy still, while the righteous will be righteous still.

Radically new views of Christ and of the truth will never be possible, so long as the man continues to hate Christ and the truth. When we hate a thing, to bring us into close contact with it is to increase our hatred. So the light of eternity is not of itself sufficient to change dislike of God into love. Bring the sinner into contact with the intense whiteness of the divine purity and he flies from it in dread. It convicts and condemns him. Since the carnal mind is enmity to God, death,

that lifts the veil between God and the sinner, must only intensify the sinner's hatred, and so confirm his evil character that change is forever after impossible.

It is sometimes said that the sufferings of the next world may be the means of changing the character. But suffering has in itself no reforming power. Unless accompanied by special renewing influences of the Holy Spirit it only hardens and embitters the soul. A man never needs so much the grace of God as when he is in affliction, for if that grace is not sought and used, his affliction may only petrify his moral and spiritual nature. A lifetime of pain did not make Blanco White a believer, and ages of pain will have not even a tendency to turn an enemy of God into a friend. The only agent who can accomplish the work of renewing the human heart and will, is the mighty Spirit of God. Is that Spirit given after death to sanctify the sufferings of those who leave this world rejecters of God and of his salvation? Only God can tell us. And in all the Bible there is no positive intimation, even, that such influences of the Spirit are exerted after death upon the still impenitent, while there is much evidence that the moral condition in which death finds men is their condition forever.

The Scripture speaks unmistakably of "an eternal sin," a sin which neither the reserved powers of the human will, nor the penal sufferings of the world to come, will ever change to purity. It is a sin against the Holy Ghost, the final grieving away of the only agent who can enlighten and renew the heart. It is the radical and final setting of self against God, so that no power which God can consistently use will ever suffice

to save it. It hath no forgiveness, simply because the soul that commits it has ceased to be receptive of divine influences, even when those influences are exerted in the utmost strength which God has seen fit to employ in his spiritual administration.

There is a sin unto death. What God might do we do not know. He has told us what he will do. That he could not change these obstinate wills we cannot say. He has told us that some of them he will not change. He has all power; but he uses his power in wisdom. There are limits to the exertion of his power in the case of sinners. There are persistent and willful rejecters of Christ's salvation whom he will cast off forever. The passage we have so often quoted settles the meaning of the words "eternal" and "everlasting," as applied to the condition of the lost. The "eternal sin" is explained to be a sin that, "hath never forgiveness." Not for a long time, but forever, does the sin endure; and, with the sin, the anger of God against it. As the theory that the human will is unlimited in its freedom forbids its advocates to deny the possibility of such an eternal sin; so the Scripture view that God only can change the evil will urges men to apply to him while he offers his help, because after his appointed time has passed there will be no renewal and no forgiveness.

Thus we have considered the first element in the doctrine of eternal punishment, namely, that there are some who through eternity will not cease to sin against God. The second point of the Scripture teaching we now take up. It is the following: This eternal sinning against God will involve eternal misery. We have such words as "weeping" and "torment" used of the con-

dition of the lost. These words plainly exclude the idea of annihilation, as, indeed, the phrase "eternal sin" excludes it. All these terms imply a living, conscious soul, either acting or suffering. But a state of annihilation, if annihilation can be called a state at all, is not a state in which the soul either acts or suffers. The Bible tells us, moreover, that there shall be degrees of suffering. Some shall be beaten with few, and others with many, stripes. But upon the theory of annihilation, there can be no degrees; the lot of all is the same. Neither for the righteous nor for the wicked is death a cessation of being. On the contrary, the Scriptures represent the wicked as entering at death upon a state of conscious misery, which the resurrection and the judgment only augment and render permanent.

There have been some, indeed, who have held to a gradual weakening of the powers of the wicked, as the natural result of sin, so that they gradually cease to be. But moral evil does not, in this present life, seem to be incompatible with a constant growth of the intellectual powers, at least in certain directions. Napoleon's overmastering egotism and ambition did not prevent a progress in his powers of military strategy and combination. We have no reason to believe Satan to be less skillful in his attacks to-day than he was in Eden. There rather seem to be evidences of a progressive subtlety, as well as of a progressive rage and malignity, from his first appearance in Genesis to his final overthrow in the Revelation. And so, in the finally lost, we have no reason to believe that the intellectual powers tend to extinction. If it were so, the greater the sin

the speedier would be the relief from punishment, and future retribution would be an act of grace rather than an act of judgment.

No; annihilation is not misery, and the misery which the Scriptures describe as the portion of the wicked is not annihilation. It is the pain of a soul which was made for God, made a vessel to be filled from the infinite fountain of truth and beauty and goodness, but which has emptied itself of its divine contents, and which has only sorrow and desolation in place of God's fullness and joy. But the misery of eternal sin is more than this, it is the gnawing of a conscience that is compelled to recognize its sin as a self-chosen degradation, and its suffering as the wages which itself has earned.

The greatest names in literature have occupied themselves in depicting the terrors and torments of conscience. Nero shrieking as he flies at midnight from the phantoms that pursue him through the halls of his golden house; Macbeth losing all strength at sight of Banquo's ghost and finding a bloodspot on his hand so red that it might "the multitudinous seas incarnadine," are the real and the ideal portraits of that Conscience that "makes cowards of us all." It is not the courtroom and the judge and the sheriff that make the convict's cheek turn pale; it is the law and the judge and the executioner within his own bosom. In a remorseful conscience human nature turns upon itself, and becomes its own detector, and judge, and tormentor. From all outward punishment let a man escape,—he cannot escape from misery, if he be a sinner, for he cannot escape from himself.

Has the reader never committed a sin under circumstances of great aggravation, a sin that afterward came up before him with a power to crush and torture him that seemed to drink up his very life? How far that anguish that he suffered surpassed the exquisiteness of any physical pain! What fearfulness and dread took hold upon him! David in the thirty-second Psalm describes it: "When I kept silence, my bones waxed old through my roaring all the day long. For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me; my moisture is turned into the drought of summer." If the reader has ever had such an experience, he knows that it does not take darkness and a prison-house and instruments of bodily torture to make a hell. As the poet has said:

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

When Uzziah, audaciously usurping the priest's office and attempting to enter the holy place of the temple, was smitten with the leprosy, he did not need to be thrust out of the sanctuary; we are told that "he himself hastened to go out." Judas in his suicide went "to his own place," just as truly as Peter, when released from prison, went to his own company. The decisive and controlling element in the future state of the wicked, as of the righteous, is not the outward but the inward. If hell is a place, it is only that the outward may correspond to the inward. If there are outward torments, it is only because these will be fit, though subordinate, accompaniments of the inward state of the soul. Surely there need be no positive inflictions of God's hand, so long as the soul's misery consists in the loss

of all good, whether physical or spiritual, and in the torments of an evil conscience, self-banished from the presence of God and from the society of the holy.

And conscience gives us a pledge of the eternity of this suffering. Remorse has no tendency to exhaust itself. Each new remembrance of past sin only puts it in some new light of aggravation and enormity. There are offenses, committed years ago, which we thought little of at the time, but which have caused us growing pain ever since. That harsh word spoken long ago to the child now dead and gone from earthly sight forever,—that neglect of the mother whose love was stronger than that of any earthly friend, but who is now where she cannot be reached by our confessions,—is there any tendency in these memories to grow less keen, any tendency in our self-reproach to grow less bitter? So it shall be in the world to come with every remembered sin against the mercy and love of God. Memory and conscience have power to make one sin a source of endless misery.

When we add to this the probability that in that future world all that diverts the mind from the contemplation of its guilt will be removed, all the objects that here absorb its attention and desires will have passed away, and the soul will be thrown inward upon itself and its own broodings over the past, we see preparations for future suffering in the very constitution of our being. But even if memory could forget the past, there would be a present of sin ever before it. An ever-renewed affirmation of its evil decision presents forever new occasion for conviction and remorse. "This is the misery of evil deed, that of new evil it becomes

the seed." Dislike for God reproduces itself in ever-growing hatred, and each new thought of selfishness and rebellion adds new fuel to the tormenting fires of conscience. So our very nature corroborates the declarations of Scripture with regard to the eternal suffering of the impenitent. The very laws of our being make provision for it. Eternal misery is the natural and inevitable accompaniment of eternal sin.

And so through these two points, first, that there are some who will forever sin, and secondly, that eternal sinning involves eternal misery, we reach the third and last element of the Scripture doctrine, namely, that this misery is the appointed vindication of God's law, and so constitutes an eternal punishment. For punishment is any pain or loss directly or indirectly inflicted by the Lawgiver in vindication of his justice outraged by the violation of law. However indirect the method in which the suffering is visited, the sinner will be compelled to recognize in it the hand of God. For God made his nature. God sustains it from hour to hour. The sinner has sundered the spiritual bond that united him to his Creator. He cannot sunder the natural bond. He cannot cease to live and move and have his being in God. Here we can banish the thought of God; we can confine our attention to second causes; we can personify law. But there, these things which now hide God from us will become transparent, and God will be seen, the All in all. Then, though he move not a finger, all pain will be seen to be his ordinance, the manifestation of his will, the vindication of his holiness, the evidence of his hatred of sin. Then, it will be seen that these pains of conscience are no arbitrary inflictions,

that no fiat of the divine will could do away with them, because they are the necessary reaction of God's pure nature against the sin that is its antagonist and would-be destroyer. Then, it shall be seen that God's nature just as much binds him to punish sin as the sinner's sin binds him to endure the punishment. And therefore it shall be seen that there is no discharge or cessation of misery possible. So long as God is God, he must punish sin. If he did not visit an eternal sin with eternal misery, he would cease to be holy,—that is, he would cease to be God.

All objections to eternal punishment drawn from God's justice are therefore based upon misunderstanding of what justice is and of what sin is. Justice is that attribute which gives to all their due. It demands in all creatures conformity to the moral perfection of God, and it visits non-conformity to that perfection with penal loss and suffering. Now, can any one doubt that, so long as moral creatures are opposed to God, they deserve punishment? Then it is just in God to visit endless sinning with endless punishment. Not the punishing, but the not punishing, would impugn his justice, for this last would be the withholding from the sinner of that which is his due. There are degrees of human guilt indeed. But as two lines may be equally long, while yet one is thicker than the other, so future punishment admits of degrees, while yet in all these degrees the punishment is endless. The least sin has an enormity, as committed against an infinite God and as containing in itself infinite possibilities of evil, which we cannot measure. It is not possible for the rebel to assign the just limits of his punishment. We know the

enormity of sin only by God's own declarations with regard to it, by the sacrifice he has made to redeem us from it, and by the penalty which he has attached to the commission of it. Hell, as well as the cross, indicates God's estimate of sin.

Nor is this eternal punishment inconsistent with the benevolence of God. Be sure that if God inflicts punishment upon his creatures it will be the means of securing some higher good. Let us remember that the very benevolence of God, as concerned for the general good of the universe, requires the execution of the full penalty of the law upon those who reject his Son. The Scripture intimates that God's treatment of human sin is matter of instruction to all moral beings. The self-chosen ruin of the few may be the salvation of the many. The example of punished rebellion given upon this little sphere may be one means of keeping myriads of unfallen intelligences true to their allegiance.

But we must not attempt to justify eternal punishment upon grounds of mere utility. God is not only benevolent but holy, and holiness is his ruling attribute. The vindication of God's holiness is the primary and sufficient object of punishment. This constitutes an end which fully justifies the infliction. The sufferings of the lost could have no beneficial effect upon the universe if they were not just in themselves. And if just in themselves, then the reason for their continuance lies in the last analysis, not in any benefit to the universe, or to the sufferers, that may accrue therefrom. The reason for punishment lies in the holiness of God. That holiness reveals itself in the moral constitution of the universe. The wrong merits punishment. Is this

a doctrine of "pain for pain's sake"? Ah, no! God "has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth." It is a doctrine of pain for holiness' sake; the necessary suffering of the transgressor who spurns God's love; the inevitable reaction against itself of a human nature which was made for purity, but which is now lost to purity; the involuntary vindication, on the part of the sinner, of that holiness of God which constitutes the fundamental attribute of his being.

It will be noted that in this discussion we have kept close to the passage of Scripture with which we began; we have aimed not to exaggerate but to interpret; we have said nothing about the number of the lost; we have maintained simply that some will be lost because they are "guilty of an eternal sin." In view of what our Lord said with regard to Judas, that it were good for that man if he had never been born; in view of Jesus' declaration that the wicked shall go away into eternal punishment; in view of John's declaration that there is a sin unto death; we are forbidden to regard "the eternal sin" as a merely hypothetical one; it is something actually committed; some are guilty of it; some will be eternally punished for it. Yet nowhere is it said that the number ultimately lost will exceed the number of the saved. On the other hand, the great numbers, the ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, are the numbers of God's redeemed. Hell is a lake, not an ocean; and we may trust, with Doctor Hodge, that those who are lost will bear to those who are saved no greater proportion than those imprisoned in penitentiaries now bear to the total free population of the world.

While we go not one jot beyond the clear declarations of Scripture and the legitimate deductions from these, it should be our earnest effort to maintain precisely what the Scripture maintains. Left to ourselves we know nothing with certainty about the future ; our reasonings are greatly affected by the impurity that still lingers in us ; again and again are we tempted to subordinate the holiness of God to the happiness of his creatures. Let God be true and every man a liar. If the doctrine of eternal punishment be clearly taught in the Scriptures, then it is the duty of the preacher to preach it, and of the church to believe it. No fear of consequences to ourselves or to the church can absolve us from these duties. We are under obligation to hold and to proclaim the whole truth of God ; if we do this, God will care for the results. All preaching which ignores this doctrine or explains it away, just so far lowers the holiness of God, of which eternal punishment is an expression, weakens our estimate of the heinousness of sin upon which it is visited, and degrades the work of Christ which was needful to save us from it. Let us be true to the word of God. Past interpretations of the Bible do not bind us, but the real teachings of Christ and his apostles do. We may interpret the material images of the New Testament in a spiritual and not a literal sense. But let us not fail to remember that the misery of the soul which eternally hates God is greater than the physical pains which are used to symbolize it.

“Knowing, therefore, the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men” by those terrors, as well as by his mercies. Indeed, the mercies will seem of little account

until we know something of the terrors. Fear of future punishment is not the highest motive, yet it is a proper motive, for the renunciation of sin and the turning to Christ. The seeking of salvation which begins in fear of God's anger may end, and in myriads of cases has ended, in the service of faith and love. May the law with its threatenings be our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. For though there is an "eternal sin," that "hath never forgiveness," and we are in danger of it, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," and in him and his cross every one of us may find "redemption, even the forgiveness of sins."

ADDRESSES TO GRADUATING CLASSES FROM 1888 TO 1899

1888

“A SON OF EXHORTATION”

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—The early church had its Barnabas. His name was significant. The new version calls him “a son of exhortation.” He had a peculiar gift of persuasive discourse. He helped, incited, guided, confirmed the saints. He “exhorted them that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord. For he was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost.”

It is this *παράκλησις* (*paraklesis*), this function of the Christian ministry of which Barnabas was the type and example, which I wish to commend to your attention. As you go to your various posts of service I would have you cultivate it. I would have you “sons of exhortation” yourselves.

Our old version unduly narrowed the meaning of the word. It called Barnabas “a son of consolation.” This comforting of Christians amid their sorrows and toils is unquestionably one of the duties of the ministry; and not simply a duty, but a privilege and an instinct, of all those who are “servants of the Spirit.” As the great heavenly Father styles himself “the God of all consolation,” and as Christ was “the consolation

of Israel," so the Holy Spirit is "the Comforter," and those who are "filled with the Spirit" will "comfort others with the comfort wherewith they are themselves comforted by God." It is a world of trial and of affliction. There is disappointment and bereavement. There are hopes deferred and losses for which there is no earthly recompense. You must stand by the bedside of the dying and pray by the coffin of the dead. Every Sabbath Day there will be within the sound of your voice those whose souls through all the weary week have looked forward to that day as the time when they might hear some word from God to remove their doubt, to enlighten their darkness, to assuage their sorrow. How hard his heart must be, and how destitute of the Spirit of Christ, who can refuse his sympathy to the afflicted people of God! Rather let us imitate God himself, who will finally wipe away all tears from their eyes.

And yet, since we are servants of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, let our ministry reflect the methods of God. I do not find that the work of Christ or of the Holy Spirit is mainly a work of mere comfort. Comfort is incidental, not primary. You cannot best comfort by dwelling on the occasions of sorrow, but rather by diverting the mind to thoughts that will lift it above its sorrow. You must have a sympathetic heart, indeed; but then you must not let your heart run away with your head and bury itself in the grief you seek to cure. That is the fault of some preachers and pastors. They forget that the gospel method of comfort is the method of bringing truth to bear upon human trouble, of presenting Christ in such a way that men may be led to

look to him, and to "rejoice in the Lord." The plaintive and lachrymose manner is often the sign of a mistaken psychology and theology. A perpetually mournful voice in the pulpit misrepresents Christianity. The Old Testament had its Jeremiah, its "prophet of tears," but where in the New Testament can you find an apostle of tears? On the other hand, the atmosphere of the New Testament is the atmosphere of cheer and hope, and the comfort of the New Testament is not a pessimistic companioning in the bitterness of grief, but a pointing of the soul forward to "sorrow vanquished, labor ended, Jordan passed."

Now all this is contained in the description of a faithful minister of Christ with which I began. The *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* (*huios parakleseos*)—the "son of exhortation"—is precisely this. The verb *παρακαλέω* (*parakaleo*), from which the noun is derived, means "to call near," "to call to one's side." The corresponding verbal noun *παράκλητος* (*parakletos*) means "one called near," "called to one's side." The idea is not therefore that of soothing and comforting, but rather that of helping, strengthening, confirming. The Holy Spirit is not primarily "the Comforter," but rather "the Helper." Since the best help is often that of Advocacy, the helper is often an Advocate,—Christ is our *παράκλητος* (*parakletos*) or "Advocate with the Father,"—and *παράκλησις* (*paraklesis*), the abstract noun, comes to mean advocacy, persuasive and helpful discourse, speech that stimulates, incites, and guides. To be "a son of exhortation," therefore, is to be more than a comforter of the saints; it is to be their instructor, persuader, encourager, to every good word and work.

I would have you notice that there is an element of intellect here. You are to give men reasons. You are to move them to no blind enthusiasms, no short-lived fervors. The "exhortation" required is not the stirring up of irrational impulse, but rather urgent appeal in view of the truth, the awakening of intense and overmastering convictions, the bringing to bear of infinite motives. It is "by manifestation of the truth" that we are to "commend ourselves to every man's conscience, in the sight of God." But notice also that "exhortation" implies more than the merely intellectual element. There is personality in it. To be "a son of exhortation" is something more than to discuss subjects in an abstract way. There must be will, determination, advocacy, urgency, appeal. The true minister of Christ must advocate God's cause as the lawyer pleads for the life of his client. There are many devil's advocates upon the other side that will use every device of Satan to rebut your arguments and to defeat your efforts. Your business is to throw yourselves into the advocacy of the truth, with such enthusiastic devotion, such personal magnetism, such loving aggressiveness, such self-forgetful propagandism, that the very weight of your onset shall itself bear down all opposition and become an argument and a victory for the truth.

Comfort then by instructing, by stimulating, by unfolding the treasures of God's word, by pointing out the joyfulness of Christian duty, by the exhibition of the exceeding great and precious promises, by urgent invitation to take part in the labor and the service and the fellowship and the sufferings and the triumph of Christ. Let the tone of hope and cheer, of lofty incitement and

encouragement, ring like a clarion through your ministry. Let the critical and the polemic and the denunciatory have as little place in your preaching as possible. Rather let the proclamation of a positive gospel, and the leading of the churches to direct effort for men's salvation, take the place of wordy warfare and the refutation of error. Be true "sons of exhortation," content with nothing short of results in the shape of a sanctified church and of sinners saved, and you may leave error to die its natural death, while sorrow's clouds are first beautified, and then dispelled, by the light that streams from Christ, the risen Sun of Righteousness.

My brethren, you have been faithful and successful in your work of preparation. For you all we cherish high anticipations. Remember us who have taught you in the word of the Lord. Be examples and advocates of an educated ministry. Send other fit men to fill the places which you leave vacant. Preach the gospel of hope and triumph wherever God sends you. May God prosper you and the word you preach, and at the last may he bring us all together again—the sowers and the reapers—to rejoice together!

1889

LOOKING FORWARD

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—When Dante, in the Divine Comedy, reaches the terrestrial

paradise, he prepares for his upward flight to heaven by first drinking the waters of Lethe, which extinguish the memory of the past, and then tasting the waters of Eunoe which bring back the memory of the good. I make no doubt that to-night, as you stand at the summit of the hill up which for three years you have been toiling, the review of the past is a pleasant one, the trials of faith and patience are forgotten, the way through which God has led you lies spread out at your feet, like the wilderness at Moses' feet on Pisgah. To us your instructors, who have come thus far with you on the way, it is a time of thankfulness; you have done your work faithfully and well. To you it is a time of thankfulness also. The record of God's goodness to you calls for everlasting remembrance. "Let not the wonders he hath wrought be lost in silence and forgot."

Yet it is not looking backward to which I exhort you to-night, but the thing precisely opposite to this. My theme, indeed, is LOOKING FORWARD. There is a sense in which we are to "forget the things that are behind." The great apostle who gives us these words suggests the proper meaning of them. Life is not to be spent in self-congratulation over past success. Paul had more to congratulate himself upon than the most of us have. He had behind him a record of heroic suffering and heroic achievement; he had kindled the light of the gospel amid the darkness of many heathen lands; he had transformed Christianity, as one might say, from a local to a universal religion. Yet he did not count either himself or his work to be perfect. Forgetting the things that were behind, and stretching forward to the things that were before, he pressed on toward the

goal. If we have done well, let us not rest in our doing. There is danger of forgetting that it is God who has wrought all our works for us. There is danger that a little past success may blind us to the great things that are still to be achieved. Count nothing done, then, so long as anything yet remains to be done. Lay the gains of the past at the feet of Christ, not as an occasion of self-praise but of praise to God. Leave them there, and press onward.

Give over all self-pitying and self-accusing as well as all self-praise. The habit of self-pitying dishonors God's providence, which has made you what you are and which has apportioned to you your lot and work. Remember that God takes the weak things of this world to put to naught the mighty, and things that are not to put to naught the things that are. There are, of course, removable defects, and these we are to overcome and put away. There are some that are unremovable. Waste no time in condoling with yourselves about them. Turn them rather into occasions of good. Let them drive you to God. Then the very thorn in the flesh shall be God's messenger of mercy to you, and you shall glory in your very weaknesses because they make it possible for the strength of Christ to rest upon you. And surely, if you are Christians at all, there is no room for self-accusing. There have been many mistakes and shortcomings, no doubt, many errors and many sins. But since Christ has atoned and God has pardoned, it is not your business to brood over the past. Christ suffered that you might not suffer. If God has forgotten, you have a right to forget also. With infinite magnanimity he has spread the mantle of oblivion over all

past faults, in order that you might be freed from that body of death, and might move forward unencumbered into a new life of liberty and service. Make a new start, then, this very night. Be like Christian in Pilgrim's Progress. Let the burden of past sin roll into the sepulchre of Jesus.

How evident it is that the forward-looking spirit is the gift of Christ and the purchase of his death! The world never had it before his coming, except where prophecy had spoken of him. And we should be pessimists, like Cicero and Seneca, but for Christ. Our God is the God of hope. Jesus in us turns our faces to the future. I bid you then look forward. Look forward to work with Christ. I do not say to work *for* Christ, though that is something to look forward to, but to work *with* Christ, who has admitted you into partnership with himself, who has promised to direct and help and cheer you all your way,—nay, who never leaves you for an instant, and who only asks you to keep close to him and to put in what strokes you can while he hews the way for himself and for you through the thick of the battle. Take Christ's words for yours then and say: "I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day." We must look forward to suffering with Christ also. But Paul counted that an honor and a sign of fellowship with the Lord: "To you it hath been granted"—as a special privilege and favor—"not only to believe on him, but to suffer in his behalf." And when we think that this suffering "works for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of glory," we can say with the poet: "I can do all things, or can bear all suffering, if my Lord be there."

Do you remember Jesus' words: "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished"? Do you remember how he pressed on toward Jerusalem to suffer, with so majestic a mien that his disciples were amazed and afraid? Ah, there was something beyond the suffering. It was the redemption of our souls, victory over sin and death, the making known of God's love and grace to the universe. "For the joy that was set before him he endured the cross." So we too look forward. No losing battle, but the certainty of triumph is before us. The attainment of a perfect character within and the complete establishment of God's kingdom without—these are the things we seek, these are the things that shall assuredly be ours. And to victory with Christ shall be added rest with Christ. "If I still hold closely to him, what hath he at last? 'Sorrow vanquished, labor ended, Jordan passed'"—"things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him."

When Arnold of Rugby was entreated by his friends to rest he only said: "Shall I not rest in the grave?" We shall have time on the eternal hills, in the sunshine of God, to sit down and review the past. But now is the time for work; the harvest waits the sickle; men are dying, and we are to carry to them healing, life, salvation, Christ,—before they die forever. Let us, with John Bunyan, make our last day our company-keeper. Let us remember the judgment-bar, before which we shall give account. God grant that we may not only be pure from the blood of all men, but that we may be among those who have turned many to righteousness

and who shall shine like the stars forever and ever. You go to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south. The whole diameter of the earth will separate you. But in one Spirit you will still have access to the common Father, and the one living omnipresent Lord who dwells in every heart will still bind you indissolubly together. And at last from your graves among the heathen, or from sudden death in Christian lands, you shall come into the visible presence of your Lord, shall be admitted to his joy, and shall see how more than justified was all your "looking forward."

When we reach the shore at last,
Who shall count the billows past?

1890

NO STRIVING

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—"The servant of the Lord must not strive." In searching for some last word that would meet your needs, this one has presented itself to me. It has the advantage of being a word of God, and like all God's words it is full of instruction, admonition, encouragement. Listen to it once more: "The servant of the Lord must not strive."

That does not mean that the minister of Christ is not to put forth most earnest effort. The whole Christian life is a life of effort: "Strive to enter in at the strait gate"; "Fight the good fight of faith." The ministry

is especially a struggle and conflict against the powers of evil and for the triumph of righteousness: "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities" of darkness; we are to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints." It is no easy-going indifference to matters of right and wrong, no passive acquiescence in the evil-doing of others, no fatalistic composure when men are running into iniquity and ruin—it is none of this to which we are urged, when we are told that "the servant of the Lord must not strive."

What sort of striving, then, *is* forbidden? The word used, the immediate context, the position of Timothy, each throws some light upon the matter. The word used is the same as that used by James: "Ye fight and war, yet have not." The context indicates that it is the combative, wrangling, quarrelsome spirit which Paul has in mind: "Foolish and ignorant questionings refuse, knowing that they gender strifes. And the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all." The position of Timothy is that of a young man with quick wit and quick sensibility, but with quick temper also; amid the many crude and arbitrary people he meets with, there is danger that he may be drawn into ignoble strifes, and into the heart-burnings and estrangements that follow them.

Now you are all Timothies, or, at least, you have something of Timothy in you, and it will be well for you too to listen to Paul. He does not forbid the large, noble, unselfish striving that belongs to genuine Christian warfare. But he does forbid that opinionated and cantankerous striving that delights in strife for the

sake of strife, and that gives no peace either to friend or foe. Have you ever seen Christian ministers who had a genius for finding points of difference with others, who prided themselves on detecting the weaknesses of their fellows, who were impatient, censorious, contentious, partisan, bound to have the last word, to get the better of you, to have their own way, to rule or ruin? Ah, have you not seen such, and have you not seen that such a man can do more harm than seven godly successors can repair?

I hardly need tell you that this spirit of arrogance and contention is no more Baptist than it is Christian. We are Congregationalists in our polity. The minister is only *primus inter pares*,—first among equals,—and then first only because of the free choice of his brethren. His rule is only a moral rule; his influence only the rightful influence of truth and character. And back of all his utterances and claims must be the plain word of God, or he is an arrant impostor. He is not the church, he is only the teacher of the church. He has no business to browbeat the church, he is to persuade the church. Even when he knows the terrors of the Lord, he is to persuade men. Therefore the servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle toward all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves. Here is the description of a true Baptist minister.

But it is Baptist because it is Christian. How gentle, how considerate, how courteous, how tender was Jesus' own treatment of honest inquirers! With what calm and lofty sincerity did he commend the truth to Nicodemus! And even to enemies, like Caiaphas and Pilate,

there was pity for their weakness as well as clear assertion of his divine dignity and righteousness. In every dispute with hypocritical scribes and Pharisees, the disputatious spirit was all with them, not with him. Never does he seem more majestic than in his controversies; there is no personal, petty, selfish element there; he is absorbed in his message, he and the truth are one.

We can have this superiority to self-will and pride and enmity only by drinking in the Spirit of our Master, only by having the Master in us. The servant of the Lord will not strive, when he fully recognizes that he is the servant of the Lord. For if he is a true servant, then he will have the humility that will correct his pride; he is not his own, for the Lord has bought him; he can obey Christ, even through insult and wrong. And if he realizes that he is the Lord's servant, that will give him a sense of dignity that will fully compensate for any slights that men may put upon him; in the conviction that the truth he speaks is not his but Christ's, he can bide his time and let the opposer have his temporary and seeming victory; he is an ambassador for Christ, and they who receive him not receive not Christ who sent him.

I am persuaded also that a consideration of this relation which we sustain to Christ will deliver us from two of the most subtle temptations of the ministry of our time: I mean the temptation to over-anxiety about our work on the one hand, and the temptation to use sensational methods on the other. We are to work hard, indeed, but we are not to make hard work of our service. We have no right to regard our ministry as a crushing

burden,—that is unbelief's way of looking upon ourselves as the principals and upon Christ as a mere subordinate and assistant. We are but soldiers ; we are to obey orders and do the best we can. He is the General ; the responsibility of the issue rests with him. Let us realize who Christ is, and the distress of legal striving will be over. We shall move forward to the conflict as if all the drums and trumpets of the heavenly host were leading the way to encourage us.

The sense of our relation to Christ will make dependence upon mere sensationalism seem very unworthy of us. The Lord does not care to have us startle people, if the startling only causes them to relapse into greater apathy. Christ himself never contented himself with present effects ; he aimed at the permanent and the eternal. And so the weapons of our warfare are not carnal ; our striving is to be a spiritual striving. We must not win a temporary success by doubtful means. Not the wisdom of this world but the wisdom which the Holy Spirit gives ; not the tinsel of rhetoric ; not the machinery of ceremonial or organization ; not music or poetry or flowers will of themselves convert men's hearts or honor Christ. Let us follow him of whom it was written, "He shall not strive or cry," but of whom it was also written, "He shall not fail or be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth."

There is a striving then that is purely human, ambitious, self-seeking, unbelieving, unworthy, doomed to failure ; there is another striving that is magnificent, heroic, resistless, simply because in it the man is mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

There is a striving in prayer, in which a mortal man has power with God ; there is a pleading with men, in which the minister of Christ has supernatural power over his fellows. How petty and how mean is striving of the earthly, sensuous, selfish sort ! How sublime is striving of the other sort, in which God makes a human soul the vehicle of his divine thoughts and emotions, and uses it as his conscious and joyful agent in the great moral conflict of the world ! As you go into active service for Christ, my brethren, resolve in God's strength that you will "labour, striving according to his working who worketh in you mightily." Then I am sure you will conform to the true meaning of the apostolic precept : "The servant of the Lord must not strive."

1891

ORACLES OF GOD

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS :—When Peter gives his charge to those who have the gift of public religious address, he urges them to speak as oracles of God. What he means by "oracles of God" is not at all doubtful. He alludes to the utterances of the Old Testament. Stephen had spoken of the law of Moses as "living oracles,"—communications that are not dead and ineffective, but that have power to awaken and move the heart. Paul had pointed out the great advantage of the Jews in that "they were intrusted with the oracles of God,"—by which he meant not only the

legal utterances of the Old Testament, but the prophetic utterances as well. And in the Epistle to the Hebrews we find the "first principles of the oracles of God" distinguished from the more advanced and complex teaching of the Scripture,—it being all the while understood that those oracles embrace God's whole saving revelation, all his disclosures to men in Christ. So we may properly regard them as including the New Testament as well as the Old. If the Old Testament is God's word, the New Testament is none the less so. We are to regard the whole Bible, in all its parts, as "the oracles of God."

Three things seem implied in this designation of Scripture. First, its divinity; in every part of Scripture God speaks to us. The words may have come out of the depths of a human experience; a human being may have clothed the thought with a style and language peculiar to himself; yet he is not the only speaker; his words are the vehicle of divine communications; through all his utterances the mind and will of God are made known to us. Secondly, the use of this phrase, "oracles of God," implies that the Scriptures are truth and only truth. The "oracles" are not heathen oracles, ambiguous, deceptive, a mixture of truth and error. They are the word of God, that "cannot be broken" or set aside, and that "liveth and abideth forever." Every part of it, when rightly interpreted and taken in connection with every other part, is "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness." And that because, thirdly, the "oracles of God" are authoritative. They possess just that element which perverse human nature needs and which

fallible human instruction lacks, namely, the mandatory and binding force of divine authority. God gives the witness of miracle and the witness of the Spirit to prove their truth. The word of God is quick and powerful; Christ's sayings are spirit and life; by them we are to be judged at the last day.

Here then are three characteristics of the Scriptures as oracles of God, namely, divinity, truth, authority. How solemn, in the light of this, appears the injunction of the apostle that we who are called to speak for Christ should speak as the oracles of God! That injunction means two things: it respects the *what* and the *how* of our preaching; the Bible is to furnish both the *matter* and the *manner* of it. On the one hand we have a definite message from God to proclaim. That message is no cunningly devised fable; it is entirely distinguishable from our own thoughts and theories; it is a body of facts with regard to Christ's incarnation, death, and resurrection; it is God's revelation of atonement and justification through his Son. This message is given us in the Scriptures; we are to speak what they speak; and, so speaking, our word shall be God's word, and it shall not return to us void, but it shall accomplish God's purpose in the redemption of men. Then, on the other hand, the *manner* of the preacher is to be modeled after the Scriptures also. Do they speak persuasively? Then, even by the terrors of the Lord, the preacher is to persuade men. Do they speak authoritatively? Then the preacher is to utter the divine commands also, declaring the whole counsel of God. Such was the preaching of Christ our Lord: "He spoke as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

My young brethren, I congratulate you upon your vocation. You are stewards of the mysteries of God; God's disclosures concerning his Son are put into your charge, the truth that makes men wise unto salvation. It is an objective revelation, a body of doctrine with which you are not to tamper, but which you are only to proclaim. You are ambassadors, and the ambassador does not *make* his message, he only *delivers* it. When he preaches the gospel he has God for his backer; his business is not to demonstrate but to promulgate; his success is measured, not by his popularity with his hearers, but by his faithfulness to the truth.

And as the substance of his message is given to him, so the power to deliver it is given to him also. There is a Spirit not his own, as there is a word not his own. The Holy Spirit of God can reinforce his weakness, can dissipate his unbelief, can infuse courage, can impart understanding, so that his utterance partakes of the divinity, the truth, the authority, of the Scripture itself.

To stand between the living and the dead, to be the mouthpiece of almighty God, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, to this you have been called. Value this calling more than any human dignity. Be faithful to it. It will cost you something to be true to the Bible. Many are the modern scribes who are substituting their own eccentric speculations for the truth of Scripture. Many are the sermons based upon the dictum of some scientific rabbi rather than upon the word of God. And therefore many a pulpit is losing all its air of authority, and is becoming a mere lecture platform. The world has no need of such. If the preacher has no authoritative communication from God to give

is not an eduction of novelties, either from nature, Scripture, or inner consciousness. It is rather the habit of resorting to primitive facts, and of securing the personal experiences which arise from contact with those facts." True originality, then, is simply studying the Bible and your own heart for yourselves, using your own eyes, trusting the promise that the Holy Spirit will guide you into the truth, and then humbly but boldly bringing forth out of your treasure things new as well as old.

It is customary at the commencements of young ladies' seminaries to inform the graduates that their education is not yet finished, that there are still things to learn, that they must continue to study after they have left the seminary walls. But the advice, trite as it is, is as good for a theological seminary as for a seminary of young ladies. We have not given you here a system of truth which is incapable of improvement. The knowledge you have gained is not a closed circle,—no, it is a line of light just beginning its onward way into the darkness. I charge you then to have your minds open to new truth, to use your own honest judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, to follow past instructions only so far as they are found with further knowledge to conform to reason and the word of God.

If it had not been for such originality as this, the church never would have had Athanasius' statement of the Trinity, or Augustine's doctrine of sin, or Anselm's theory of the atonement, or Luther's preaching of justification by faith, or Whitefield's declaration of the necessity of the new birth. With all these instances

before us, why should we doubt that advances in theology may yet be made? With John Smyth, that old-time Baptist, let us say: "I profess I have changed, and shall be ready still to change, for the better"; and with John Robinson, the Pilgrim Father: "I am verily persuaded that the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth from his holy word." But whether the truth be new to others or not, we are bound to have it new to us. Every ardent student will be making discoveries in the Scriptures. Old truths will take on new meaning and value as he ponders upon them. Even the old command of love will become Christ's new command. Thus the preacher will have something fresh to tell. What he utters will come warm and persuasive from his own heart's experience of it, and he like Paul will say: "This is my gospel." All other preaching will have as little power as recitation of a text-book; this will be the power of God unto salvation.

The second duty I would urge upon you is the duty of hearing and respecting divergent conceptions of Christ and Christianity in others. I do not mean that heresy is to be treated as if it were truth. There are denials of Christ's deity and atonement which must be a bar to ecclesiastical and to Christian fellowship. But I mean that among those who exalt Christ as the divine Redeemer we ought to expect many interpretations of Scripture and many minor variations of doctrine. Let us remember that, as we have not yet the whole truth ourselves, we may possibly learn something from our brethren. They have the promise of the Holy Spirit's guidance as well as we, and it is only by the combined study and effort of the whole church that we are to at-

tain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God. Let us listen candidly to the results of others' experience. Often we shall find that we are one with them at heart ; better understanding of their views will show that they differ from us more in the terms they use than in the meaning of them ; and we shall learn the truth of the Saviour's words that those who are not against us are for us.

Let us remember that other ministers and other Christians as well as ourselves can speak of "my gospel," and let us give to them all the rights which we claim for ourselves. And in those other cases where the opposite maxim applies, and we must say, "He that is not with me is against me," still let us respect the right of private judgment. Men cannot be dragooned into conformity. Denunciation often confirms them in their wrong belief. Kindness and reason may win them to the true faith. When they will not be won, it is better simply to let them go their own way, than to enter into bitter controversy with them. Both as Baptists and as Christians we need to defend the liberty of all men to form and to utter their own religious opinions. The free interpretation of Scripture is as important an article of faith as the divine inspiration of Scripture. Let me preach my gospel, and let every other man preach his. By their fruits men shall know truth from error, and every plant which our heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up.

My brethren, at this solemn time when one life closes and another life begins, as the past of preparation withdraws into the distance, and the future of labor and of promise opens before you, the hearts of your instruc-

tors go out toward you. You have been faithful and devout; we believe in you and in your call to be preachers of the everlasting gospel. We urge you to make full proof of your ministry; to study the word of God for yourselves; to respect your own conclusions as to divine truth; to declare the whole counsel of God; to let no man despise your youth. A humble originality, a prayerful boldness, a devout independence,—these are the virtues which we would have you cultivate. May God give to each one of you such a special experience of his truth that he shall be able to call the gospel which he preaches “my gospel”! May God make the preaching of that gospel out of the heart and life of each one of you the means of convincing and saving a multitude of your fellow-men! May God give to each one of you at last the unspeakable satisfaction of finding that what he has called “my gospel” is none other than the gospel of the grace of God, according to which the secrets of men are judged in the great day! And unto the King of the ages, the incorruptible, invisible, only God, shall be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

1893

ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—This is a happy hour both for you and for us. We share in your feeling of elation. You have successfully completed a long course of preparatory study. You are stepping

forth into the great work of life. You have been gathering strength,—now you are to use it. You have been sharpening your tools,—now you are to test them. I do not doubt your faithfulness or your devotion to Christ ; you have given us proof of these. My chief concern is that you should work freely ; that you should not permit what you have learned to hamper you ; that you should not be the slaves of method or of form. You are to apply the truth you have learned ; to adapt it to men's special needs ; and to do this each in his own way. My one word of counsel then is this : **BE ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN.**

Only, however, in the sense of the Apostle Paul. He was not a lawless man,—he did not assert his right to act arbitrarily or to follow the whim of the moment. He was not a selfish man,—he did not count gain to be godliness, or seek to make people serve his personal interests. He was not a weak man,—he did not change his views or his teaching to suit the opinions of those around him. He was not a dishonest man,—he did not conceal the truth, or declare that to be right which he knew to be wrong. Paul was just as far as possible from being a Jesuit ; he never held that the end justifies the means ; he never countenanced error or sin that he might make religion easy ; he never lied for the glory of God. He was no Judaizer ; he was the last man to accept externals in place of inward faith and obedience ; he never fancied that morality or social reform would save the world. No, if you want a man to symbolize by the chameleon or the weathercock, you must go somewhere else than to the Apostle Paul.

When he tells us that he has become all things to all

men, he means nothing inconsistent with his being under law to Christ, not his own but bought with a price, Christ's bondservant, with a stewardship to fulfill, a necessity laid upon him, with no right to reward, doing only his duty when he used all his powers in his Master's service. He has no choice of ends; there is but one purpose to his life—he must bring men under Christ's dominion. The very object of his becoming all things to all men is that he may by all means save some. His own eternal welfare is bound up with his faithfulness to this calling; he devotes himself to it, that he too may be a joint partaker in the great salvation. He has but one means: the truth of God, the one, unchangeable gospel. He had no idea of saving men except by convincing their intellects and winning their hearts; they can be saved only by seeing and obeying the truth; they must confess and forsake their sins; they must accept Christ as Saviour and Lord. To the preaching of this gospel he is separated, set apart, even from his mother's womb. Like the earlier apostles, he withdraws from common cares that he may give himself to prayer and to the ministry of the word.

Do you say that all this sounds like slavery instead of liberty? Ah, the bondservant of Christ is also the Lord's freeman! Since he loves Christ and loves the souls for whom Christ died, this very insistence on Christ's ends and Christ's means permits a wonderful flexibility and adaptation to men and to circumstances. He can be all things to all men, not merely in spite of his service to Christ and his truth, but by virtue of his service to Christ and his truth. Faithfulness to Christ gives him a wide sympathy and charity. No pains or

sacrifice consistent with thorough integrity are too great, if he may only win men to Christ. In matters where principle is not involved, he will utterly forget his own comfort and his own preferences, if he may only get nearer to those whom he seeks to influence. He will please all men for their good to edification. So the Apostle Paul was entitled to Lord Lyttleton's praise: he was one of the finest gentlemen that ever lived; but only because he followed Christ's example, who, to diminish the distance between himself and us, took our nature upon him, entered into our life, conformed to our condition, bore our griefs, and carried our sorrows.

I would have you follow Paul's example, as Paul followed Christ. I would have you *keep the unimportant things subordinate to the important*. Do not let the form override the substance. Do not idolize the symbol, while you neglect the thing symbolized. Do not identify Christianity with mere externals. As Paul could be a Jew to the Jew and a Gentile to the Gentile, so you, so long as you do not sacrifice principle or compromise conviction, may conform yourselves to the customs and even the prejudices of those with whom you deal. As Paul adapted himself alternately to Jewish scruples and to Gentile freedom, now circumcising Timothy, but again refusing to circumcise Titus, now observing the seventh day, but again declaring himself unbound by the Mosaic law, now abstaining from meats but again calling all meats clean, so you in things indifferent may well consult the opinions and tastes of those around you. Many a young minister has lost all power to carry his people with him in matters of principle,

simply because he has insisted upon his own will and way in matters where no principle was involved. Yield in the small points, then, that you may win in the large. Let other people have their way in things of mere taste and arrangement, in order that you may have your way in things that are essential to true religion.

Do not insist unduly on your rights and dignity. You are not priests, nor are you lords over God's heritage. You are only members of the body of believers chosen to teach the truth and to point the way to your brethren. One is their Master, even Christ; and you are false to Christ and to them when you set yourselves in Christ's place and demand reverence for yourselves. A pastor can either rule his church or he can have the reputation of ruling; he rarely can do both. When he gets the reputation of ruling, the average Baptist church furnishes a sufficient number of brethren to dispute his claim; they are quite as ambitious to rule as he. But let him be eager only to serve, and by and by he shall find that, without intending it, he rules. Paul had a right to support from the churches, but he waived his right; by waiving it he won their confidence, and God did not suffer him to want; tentmaking supported him, and he had the glory before God and men of proving the perfect disinterestedness of his mission. I urge you in like manner to give over all undue anxiety about place or salary. Be willing to take the humblest place; serve for whatever is offered you; assert no precedence; trust only in God and the truth; and as God lives, bread shall be given you and your waters shall be sure.

Do not make too much of established methods. There

are ministers who will not preach unless they can deliver elaborate orations. But that is just what Paul refused to do at Corinth. He abjured rhetoric and the wisdom of this world in order that the power might be only God's. We have come to worship sermons more than we worship the truth. In the early days it was not so; preaching then was more private than public; the preacher went from house to house beseeching every man with tears. Woe be to the minister who can preach only on Sundays and in the pulpit! He needs to get down from his high horse, to talk to his flock in the streets and on week days, to translate his message into the vernacular of common life. His business is not so much to make public exhibition of the truth as it is to reach men, to win them, to bring them to God. Text or no text, sermon or no sermon, pulpit or no pulpit, he will deliver his message. He will think nothing foreign to him which will give him access to human hearts. The Rev. Mr. Creamcheese is no minister of Christ's gospel. The true servant of Christ can bare his arms for any work,—pew-renting, money-raising, church-building. He can use any means,—the stereopticon, the circulating library, the public press. The "all things to all men," with the Pauline love and sincerity behind it, is a principle which will make preaching direct but not sensational, and will give pastoral work an adaptation to individual tastes and needs.

Do not confine your attention to any one class in the church or in the community. "All things to all men," says Paul. If I thought you would scorn the humble and the poor, I would entreat you not to enter the ministry. If I thought you would leave the rich unin-

vited and unwarned, I should think you very unworthy preachers of Christ's gospel. No, all men are sinners, and for all men Christ has died. We are to know no classes, for all without exception need the grace of God. I have sympathy with what is coming to be called "institutional Christianity." Work for the newsboys, boy's brigades, Christian Endeavor, rescue-missions, Salvation Army,—all these are only efforts to reach classes which the church has hitherto forgotten. God bless them all, and God make you swift to lend your aid and sympathy to every means of carrying the good news of the kingdom to the needy and the lost! You have the duty laid upon you of applying the principles of the gospel to human affairs, of denouncing the violation of law, of urging men to discharge the obligations of citizenship, to purify legislation, to rectify injustice, to set up the kingdom of God in the State as well as in the Church.

To be "all things to all men,"—how large and how grand is your calling! It is simply to be prophets and representatives of God, preachers of the whole truth of Christ. The task would be too great if you went alone to your work. It is not too great if Christ goes with you. Who is sufficient to these things? Your sufficiency is of God. You can do all things through him who strengthens you. May he make you able ministers of the New Testament! May he give you great joy in your work! May he grant you many years of life, and make every year fruitful in the gathering in of redeemed souls! And when all your days have been spent, may you with us bring your sheaves to the Master's garner, crying "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory!"

1894

AN UNWORLDLY MINISTER

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS :—A recent book called "Coronation" has suggested to me a theme. It is the story of a devout but eccentric minister of Cape Cod. He is possessed with the idea that work is useless without power, and that power comes only from communion with God. Hence he wanders much upon the lonely seashore; he passes whole summer nights in prayer upon the hills. He is much oftener away from his people than he is with them; he counts himself to be only God's messenger; unless he has some word of God to speak, some gift of God to communicate, he remains in retirement. But in the depths of the forest he gathers energy; when he does appear, it is with a strange intensity of emotion and of utterance; he is an electric battery fully charged; men yield to his reasonings and to his appeals in spite of themselves; with his mysterious flitting to and fro they come to associate the blowing, where it listeth, of the Spirit of God.

Was not this the life that Elijah led? Would those momentary appearances to Ahab have been so awe-inspiring and subduing, if Elijah had not come from the immediate presence of the Holy One? And the second Elijah, John the Baptist, is not this the meaning of his dwelling in the deserts before the time of his manifestation to Israel? Do you say that our Lord reversed all this, that he stayed with men? Well, he prepared for that stay by thirty years of privacy; and the more of public work he had to do, the longer and

more frequent were his turnings aside for solitary intercourse with God. Even the classic story tells us that Hercules, after his greatest labors, retired into wildernesses that he might reflect upon his divine origin and might renew his vigor. But Jesus is the true Hercules, and he gives us the model for the life of his ministers. "They are not of the world," he says, "even as I am not of the world."

AN UNWORLDLY MINISTER—this is what I urge each one of you to be. In urging this, I am quite aware that I am running counter to some of the strongest currents of our times. The minister, it is said, must put off his monkish seclusion; he must come out into the open, live among men, attend weddings, take part in politics, sympathize with all the interests of society, set every class and age to work in the institutional church. And I have no objection to this,—I commend it indeed, provided only it can be realized in the spirit and manner of Christ. He did not himself go out of the world, nor does he pray that his servants may be taken out of the world. But he does pray that they may be kept from the evil; that they may be not *of* the world, even while they are *in* the world; that they may be living manifestations, in this present evil world, of the powers of the world to come.

Men are won, not by conformity, but by non-conformity; by the exhibition of a higher life; by a purity, a sweetness, a power to which they are strangers. It is not the *words* of the sermon that challenge attention, so much as it is the rapt and commanding *air* of the preacher, the tones of conviction, the beseeching of love. The pulpit needs to become a visible and audible

embodiment of the spiritual world ; with such a demonstration before them, men can no more deny the truth, or their need of it, than they can deny the reality and value of the sunlight ; they can remain indifferent, as little as when they come in contact with a heavily charged Leyden jar. Here was the power of apostles, prophets, martyrs ; here is the power of many ministers to-day. Shall we call it supernatural influence ? It is nothing but the natural influence, upon worldly people, of a life that is hid with Christ in God, that has stored up the results of divine communion, and that simply rays out into the darkness something of the light and love and energy of the Infinite One.

Only the unworldly minister knows what is meant by "the hiding of power." It is a phrase of Habakkuk. The coming of God is compared to the sun rising over the hills of Edom and Sinai. Yet this glorious appearance is not God himself : it is but the veil in which he wraps his omnipotence ; the light is a garment which conceals, even while it reveals him ; there is the hiding of his power. What is true of God is true in its measure of God's servants. After Moses has been in the mount with Jehovah, he must cover his face, lest the light reflected from it should overawe the people. How many another face, since that of Moses, has shone after communion with God ! There is an element of mystery in all true preaching, because it is the utterance of one who has just come down from the mount. Behind the words there is a unique personality ; in and through the preacher shines and speaks the Lord himself ; there are unlimited reserves of energy ; the *exhibition* of power is at the same time a *hiding* of power.

Will not such a preacher as this have satisfactions which the worldly minister can never compass? Of course he will have to pay the price. Many secular amusements he will have to forego,—but the joy of the Lord will be his strength. He cannot read so deeply in science or philosophy,—but he can delve into the treasures of the Bible. He will have no time to make money,—but Jehovah will be his inheritance. He will have that peace above all earthly dignities, a still and quiet conscience; he will have a friendship more stimulating and ennobling than earthly companionships, even the intimacy of God. The promise, “I will dwell with them and walk with them,” is peculiarly to him. There will be secret meetings in which the Father and the Son will come to him; nay, they will take up in him a continuous abode. The Holy Spirit will reproduce in him the departed Christ, and will make him to all intents and purposes, and up to the measure of his powers, a bodying forth of the grace and life of his Redeemer.

Is it worth the while? Ah, is it not the only rational ambition, to say with Paul: “I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord”? To be an unworldly minister, there is but one way, and that is to give up the world—not God’s world of beauty or truth or goodness, but Satan’s world of selfish gratifications, of deluding hopes, of insatiable desires—and to seek our joy above the world, in God.

My young brethren, you have made this decision once, but it is a decision that needs evermore to be repeated, and never so much as now, when your life-work

is opening before you. Just as his ministry began Jesus was confronted by Satan, and all the kingdoms of the world were offered to him at the cost of only one prostration before the Evil One. Christ chose to be an unworldly minister, even though he had to take the way of the garden and the cross. Will you follow in his steps? Will you choose the lonely path, the path of prayer, the path of sacrifice, the path of suffering, the path of possible defeat and loss, but the path that has Christ for its companion and eternal glory for its goal?

Before you too, the arch-enemy spreads his bait tonight. You are summoned to make your decision between a worldly and an unworldly ministry, between the present world and the world to come, between the god of this world and the God who has loved and redeemed you. I am persuaded that in your secret hearts you make your decision for God, and that you will stand with him and for him. Be sure that he will stand with you and for you. Be content to stand alone, if need be; with God, you are in the majority; your very isolation may be your power. The unworldly minister conquers by the very dignity and uniqueness of his life. But whether he is seen to conquer or not, he is joined to God in the bonds of an imperishable communion, and all things are his, whether the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are his; and he is Christ's; and Christ is God's.

1895

OPENNESS OF MIND

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS :—It is not often that we send out a class for whose members we have so high and uniform regard. In standing as well as in numbers you have ranked with the best. Yet one place is vacant which we had hoped would be filled. One who began with you has finished his course and has graduated before you. We remember

Him, the young and strong, who cherished
Noble longings for the strife,
By the roadside fell and perished,
Weary of the march of life.

If the spirits of the departed are permitted to revisit these earthly scenes, it is hard to believe that Bates is not here, for he looked forward eagerly to this day. His earthly work is finished, but his heavenly work is only just begun. And the memory of his sweet and unobtrusive though diligent and ardent spirit will ever remain with you, to bless you all.

There was one characteristic of his which I desire to commend to you as worthy of imitation, and I take it as the theme of my remark and counsel to-night. I exhort you to OPENNESS OF MIND. By this I do not mean a crazy love for novelty, a childish passion for the next thing, whatever it may be. There is a "faith once for all delivered to the saints." Some things are settled beyond controversy. Amid the shifting sands of human speculation there is a solid rock of Scripture testimony,

of historical certainty, of inward experience. We are not to be "tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of doctrine." We are to "prove all things" and to "hold fast that which is good."

But there is an exaggeration of this conservatism, against which we need to guard. It is quite possible to confound our present conceptions of the truth with the truth itself, and to cherish an attitude of hostility to every new interpretation and discovery. Bigotry, as Doctor Holmes remarked, is like the pupil of the eye: the more light you pour upon it the more it contracts. There are preachers who not only spend their whole time in attacking error, but who see in everything new only an error to attack. "Wherever you see a head, hit it!" was the advice of the Hibernian father to his son, but it shall not be my advice to you. I counsel you rather to bring forth things new as well as old, and in so counseling you I am only repeating the words of Jesus Christ, our Master.

Without openness of mind you will see little that is new, and when you do see it you will be prejudiced against it. You will regard all science and philosophy and literature and art as anti-Christian, and your narrowness will prevent the acceptance of Christianity by those whom you would most desire to influence. Theology will be to you a book closed and sealed, a series of dead formulas without power to move you or to move others. I urge you to a better mood than this. When the new challenges your attention I would have you ask, not "What is there here that I can contradict and oppose?" but rather "What is there here that I can accept and utilize?" I would have you ready to rec-

ognize and welcome truth, from whatsoever source it comes.

Without such openness of mind there never would have been progress in theology. By progress in theology I do not mean a veering away from the old truth or the old Scripture, but I mean a deeper penetration into the meaning of the old truth and the old Scripture, and a larger appropriation of both. Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, Luther, Wesley, all made discoveries, and yet those new discoveries were only a bringing to light of the old orthodoxy of Paul and John. Why should we think that these worthies have exhausted the possibilities of discovery? We have the same Holy Spirit that was given to them. And we have many a help to which they were strangers, in that science, philosophy, and history which are themselves Christ's subordinate methods of teaching the world.

There was once a time when animals were classified by their differences, but the new zoölogy classifies them by their resemblances instead. So there was a time when religious systems were classified by their differences, and it was thought that one could not firmly hold his own creed without vigorously antagonizing every other. We are beginning to see that all this implied a distrust of the power of truth and a narrow view of the truth itself. We perceive that resemblances are more important than differences, and that Christian fellowship is the twin sister of soul-liberty. The days of theological polemics are well-nigh past, and the preachers of the future, instead of denouncing each other, will content themselves with proclaiming the Christ.

For the Christ is larger than all our conceptions of

him. He embraces in himself all the truth of nature as well as all the truth of special revelation. He is conducting the march of civilization. He did not leave himself without a witness among the heathen nations even in the ante-Christian times. Those of you who go as missionaries need not hesitate to recognize the occasional grains of truth that are hidden in the chaff of heathen teaching, or to quote, as Paul did, a heathen poet's testimony to the Fatherhood and the goodness of God. And those of you who remain at home I would have to be Broad Church Baptists, in the sense that you rejoice in the truth and praise the truth though it come to you in Episcopal or Methodist or Presbyterian form.

Faithfulness to Christ's word and to Christ's church is not incompatible with, but it rather requires, an open mind to all that is good and true everywhere. For this reason let us beware of narrowing down our conception of Christ. He who limits his view of Christ to the work of Christ incarnate, and refuses to believe in him as the pre-incarnate Logos, will necessarily be prejudiced against a large portion of Christ's truth. He who sees Christ in redemption, the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, but fails to recognize Christ in creation, the image of the invisible God, in whom all things consist, will be apt to shut the book of nature because at some points it seems at first sight hard to reconcile with the book of Scripture.

Let us remember who Christ is, and then the spirit of comprehension will take the place of the spirit of exclusion, the constructive will supersede the destructive impulse, openness of mind will characterize us

instead of a mind shut to all the wondrous truth which this modern age is bringing to our doors. Christ is the one and only Revealer of God. He is the Creator, the Upholder, the Governor, the Life of the Universe. Evolution is but the method of the immanent Christ. All things in heaven and earth are given into his hand. He is the Executor of God's decrees and the Ruler of the nations, as well as the Captain of our Salvation and the Head of the universal church. We cannot interpret Scripture correctly so long as we shut out the light of nature, and our boast that we know the Christ of the Gospels is a vain boast unless we recognize in that Christ the Eternal Word who is the only life of nature and of humanity.

My young brethren, you go forth in a day when many are declaring that the world is waxing worse and that the truth of Christ is losing its power. But open your minds, as the prophet's servant opened his eyes, and you will see the hills thronging with horses and chariots of fire. Nature herself is becoming a witness to the presence and power of Christ, and a proof that he shall reign until he has put all enemies beneath his feet. Because Christ is the Life and the Lord of all, you can be optimists and not pessimists. Of all days since man trod this planet, this is the greatest day. The world, with its misery and sin, is larger to us than it was to our fathers. But then we have a larger view of Christ than they ever had. John Bunyan thought of him as far away and only to be seen at the end of the pilgrimage, while we know that he is with us alway. John Calvin thought of nature and history as under control of the Evil One, and to be delivered only at

Christ's second coming, while we know that Christ is now swaying the sceptre of universal empire. I bid you be of good cheer. Go forth in his strength. Be open-minded to all truth, for he is the Truth. And, since the Truth is only another name for Christ, it is mighty, it shall prevail,

And they who, with their Leader,
Have conquered in the fight,
Forever and forever
Shall walk in robes of white.

1896

TRUE AMBITION

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—Many years ago, in a time of mental depression, when life seemed hardly worth the living, I was greatly inspirited by the exhortation of a friend not to give up my ambition. I had been tempted to passive acquiescence; he taught me that it was my duty to use my will. Charles Kingsley said well that the central idea of ancient tragedy was, Man conquered by circumstance, but that the central idea of modern tragedy is Man conquering circumstance. There is such a thing as a true ambition. It is made possible by Christ. It is the duty of the minister of Christ. On this last night of your Seminary course, instead of saying to you, "I charge thee, Cromwell, fling away ambition," I say rather: Cherish the highest ambition, and never let it go.

There is a false ambition and against it I would be quick to warn you. "Seekest thou great things for thyself?" said the prophet; "seek them not." Seeking great things in order that *we* may be great, is to reverse all right rules, and to put ourselves in the place of Christ. Away with such self-deification and idolatry! But we are nowhere forbidden to seek great things for Christ, that we may bring them to his feet, and that he may have the glory. On the other hand we are to covet earnestly the best gifts; there is a lawful striving even after masteries; faithfulness in a few things is to be rewarded by promotion to rulership over many things. And this is only to say that we owe to Christ the utmost we can do and attain; we are bound to make the most of ourselves for him; let this brief life be crowded with the best and highest services.

The true ambition is an unselfish ambition. It is such ambition as Jesus had, who pleased not himself, and whose meat and drink it was to do the will of God. It is the ambition to be like God in character, to be holy as he is holy. "Be ambitious to be quiet," says Paul to the Thessalonians. They were in danger of being diverted from the common duties of life; they must make it their first study to perform well their ordinary tasks. True ambition does not grudge the present toil, nor undervalue the present place, nor neglect the present opportunity. It rather aspires to make present service great by the thoroughness and devotion with which it is done. It welcomes sacrifice and humiliation when they come, not as mere ascetic exercises, but in the order of God's providence as needful means of promoting piety and of advancing Christ's

kingdom. As our Lord could say : " I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished," so many a minister of Christ has been impelled by a sacred ambition that gave him no rest till he had planted the banner of the cross on heathen shores, or had worn out his life in conflict with unbelief and wickedness at home.

Such ambition as this reconciles the conflicting claims of love and self-love, of conscience and culture, of principle and advantage. We are endowed by nature with the love of power. The greatest men have most of it. God appeals to it in his word. He that overcomes is to sit down with Christ upon his throne. But then, this love of power is to be exercised and gratified only in subordination to God's will. It is power for Christ and in Christ that we should seek. And here is the possibility of temptation and of sin. Christ himself had a greater love for power than any one of us ever can have. Satan made it the avenue of his seduction, when he offered him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. But the price—that was the bowing of the knee to the Evil One and the recognition of his lordship over all. Power was a great thing, but God was greater, and Jesus renounced himself and sought first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.

So he urges us to do only what he has himself done before us. And this is wisdom,—for wisdom is the choice of the highest end, together with the choice of the best means for its attainment. A true ambition chooses God instead of self, because God is the highest end, and then it chooses the best way of honoring God and of promoting his kingdom in ourselves and in the

world. In this choice of right means comes the test of our sincerity. How may I best serve Christ? A true ambition will seek great things for Christ. But what *are* great things? Are they the things the world calls great,—wealth, luxury, honor, fame, early matrimony, a large library, a commanding pulpit, wide knowledge, influence in politics, reputation as a lecturer? Or are the great things rather things of the Spirit,—meekness, patience, self-denial, much of faith and love, much of sacrifice for the ignorant, the heathen, the lost? I think we cannot doubt that these latter things are the things which in the sight of God are of great price, and the things which are to be sought first. The former are to be sought only so far as they are consistent with and helpful to the latter.

Who but the wise Spirit of God can give us the wisdom which belongs to a true ambition, that we may esteem the things of time at their proper value, and use them as not abusing them! Christian ministers err at times in both directions. Some are too worldly wise. In their zeal for comfort and place and popularity and learning and influence they put self before Christ and bring reproach upon Christ's cause. But there are others who lack all worldly wisdom, have no forethought, live like the sparrows, and tempt Providence by expecting God to care for them. They forget that the minister of the gospel is to be a man as well as a minister. He is to have common sense as well as the Spirit of God, and more than ordinary common sense because he has the Spirit of God. Christ did not repeal the laws of nature nor the book of Proverbs. It is not wrong to desire a measure of comfort or popularity or learning,

provided the comfort, the popularity, the learning, are all sought and held solely for the glory of God and the relief of man's estate.

I have no great fear that you will not care sufficiently for the things of this life, and I will not specially exhort you with regard to that. What I am concerned about is only that you may be ambitious for spiritual results. I have seen men who no sooner got fairly settled in the ministry than they seemed incapable of movement afterward. Past attainments in the way of knowledge of the Bible completely satisfied them; the last demand upon them for recitation in the Seminary seemed to mark the limit of their mental progress; they never grew afterward. And their highest aim in the church seemed to be to keep things up to their old level. Indolence and dry rot got hold of them, and at the end of five years the cause of Christ in the community was just where it was at the beginning. I charge you to-night to let no such laziness get possession of you. For when our mental and spiritual state does not improve, it surely deteriorates. The church that does not go forward, goes backward; like the bicycle, if you do not go on, you go over. In taking your first pastorate, resolve that that church shall feel your influence; that the town shall know that a man of God is there; that you will never leave your post till the cause of Christ is permanently advanced in that place. The old prayer that God will enable us to leave the world better than we found it, expresses what I urge upon you as the substance of a true ambition on the part of a minister of Jesus Christ.

Since only God's Spirit can either give us this ambi-

tion or can keep it pure and true, the thing we ought first to desire is that we may have much of the Spirit of God. But even here let me warn you that it is possible to aspire to great gifts of the Spirit in a merely selfish way. We may ask for the Holy Spirit, in order that we may *use him*, and make him our tool and instrument. How insulting to God are such prayers! The only prayer for the Holy Spirit that is ever answered is the prayer that the Holy Spirit may *use us*, as unresisting, active, glad executors of his will. He is sovereign, let us follow his lead; he is almighty, let us be the vehicles and channels of his power! We receive the Holy Spirit, only when we exalt him to the throne, give him the glory, become nothing ourselves that he may be all in all.

Dear brethren, it is with sorrow that we part from you, for you have one and all commended yourselves to us by your qualities of mind and heart. We predict for you large and blessed service in the ministry of Christ. We urge you to cherish a high and noble ambition; to be content with no mean standard of attainment or of success. Seek great things for Christ,—things such as Christ sought, things that will seem great at the last great day. If those great things include the cross of suffering, remember that, if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him. But whether our ministry be one of gladness or of sorrow, let us go forward unflinchingly to fulfill it, running with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the forerunner and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross and is now set down at the right hand of God.

1897

PREACHING AS SELF-REVELATION

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:—You constitute the largest class ever sent out by this seminary. I will not say that this class is the ablest and the best, for there were brave men before Agamemnon, and wisdom will not die with you. But I will say that we take pride in you, and expect noble work from you. You have strengthened our hands by your conscientiousness and faithfulness; you will help the institution by your labors and influence after you are gone. We wish you to be model ministers of Jesus Christ, to have the highest conception of your vocation, to make the most of yourselves for him. In these last words which I utter in my capacity of instructor I would set forth a new and fruitful aspect of your work. I would speak to you of PREACHING AS SELF-REVELATION.

There is a principle of self-revelation in the nature of God. His love makes him self-expressing, and the eternal Word is the medium of this manifestation before suns or stars were made. Our finiteness knows nothing of such fullness of communication as that between the Father and the Son, and the very deeps of the divine personality are searched and known by the Holy Spirit. God does not confine his self-manifestation to the inner circle of the Trinity. Creation is the outgoing of his love, the effort to make finite creatures partakers of his secret, to impart himself to them, to make them like himself in his holiness and self-sacrifice.

Man is made in God's image, and that means that the

same self-revelation which characterizes God himself is characteristic of normal humanity. Self-revelation is the natural impulse of the good. All genius is a survival of this divine element in man. The great painter or sculptor or poet lives not for money or praise or power, but simply to express himself and to give to others his ideas of beauty and of truth. The child in his artless volubility and self-forgetful confidence speaks out to you his whole soul, and Wordsworth rightly calls him nature's priest, because he is nearer to the heart of God than he is in after years. The noblest minds are those who throw open the windows of their being that the whole world may look in. *Bonum communicivum sui*—what grander description has ever been given of that love which would make its own good the good of all?

Sin substitutes for this overflow, concealment; for this generosity, narrowness; for this self-revelation, a pitiful self-repression. The outgoing of soul is stopped; each one's good is kept to himself; a jealous eye is turned toward others lest they snatch away what belongs to him; self-aggrandizement takes the place of self-sacrifice. What more damning proof of the ignoble and depraving influence of sin than its tendency to hide, to shut itself in, to separate itself from others! And yet even sin cannot completely prevent the soul's self-manifestation. Even the wicked find it hard to keep their guilty secrets. They are compelled to confess. The voice of the Lord that summoned our first parents to come out from their concealment in the trees of the garden has its counterpart in the voice of our nature which bids every man disclose his sin. The last

day will be a day of judgment because it will be a day of confession. By the operation of merely natural law the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

Regeneration restores the freedom and the joy of self-manifestation. It is bliss to have nothing to cover up ; bliss to tell forth the new love which fills the heart ; bliss to speak forth the praises of him who has redeemed us. God gives to the redeemed soul his own Spirit of liberty and love, and love always prompts to self-revelation. Confession of what Christ has done for us is no arbitrary requirement ; God's life within clamors for an outlet ; the light must shine because it is its nature to shine. The Christian church is the most simple and natural of all means for the self-revelation of the new-born sons of God.

And what is a preacher of the gospel ? Simply a Christian farther advanced than the common in this divine privilege of self-manifestation. No lording it over God's heritage, but only a little more insight into truth, a little more experience of its power, and a little more opportunity to tell to sinners round what a dear Saviour he has found. The self-revealing God has wrought within his soul and has filled him with his Spirit, that *he* may be a self-revealing son of God. This is the truth which Phillips Brooks labored to utter when he said that preaching was truth *plus* personality,—truth in personal manifestation. Jesus was the great preacher because he was the truth of God incarnated, and speaking through human heart and lips. And we are true preachers just in proportion as the truth of God has free course in us and is glorified by our personal manifestation of its effects in our own life and experience.

There is a sense in which we are to hide behind the cross, to put forward only Christ, to be, like John the Baptist, a mere voice saying, "Behold the Lamb of God!" All self-praise and egotistic display are indeed unworthy of us and dishonoring to Christ. But that does not mean that we should hide what Christ has done for us,—what he has done is to be made the means of his glory. The true preacher cannot talk out of his heart without telling his personal experience, and that personal experience is worth more than a multitude of abstractions. Paul was no egotist, but in the Acts he never tires of telling the story of his conversion on the way to Damascus. Christ's dealings with him furnish him with illustrations of the gospel. So we must respect the self that is indwelt and taught by God. We must rid ourselves of our natural self-repression and make our whole being an object-lesson and instruction to others. The wicked love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil, but the saints of God are light in the Lord, and they are bound to be the world's luminaries. The preacher of the gospel is to hold forth the word of life by simply letting out the tides of knowledge and love and power with which God has filled his soul.

There are men in this class who may make most able and effective preachers if they will look upon preaching as self-revelation. So long as they regard it as a mechanical repetition of what has been taught them, they will fail to impress men or to please God. But when they put themselves into God's hands and let him use them and speak through them, they will find that the very power of God goes with them. And what I say

to some, I say to all : Away with timidity and morbid introspection. You and your powers belong to Christ. Not for nothing has he led you in the past. Not for nothing has he taught you the lessons of his word. Believe in yourselves as regenerated by his Spirit and called to be his representatives. Let the world know what he has taught you and what he has done for you. Do not be afraid to feel or to show your feeling. Do not be afraid to vow and to make known your vows. Let the motto, *Aperto vivere voto*, be yours. To live with open vow, with purpose unconcealed, with heart disclosed to the world, because your vow, your purpose, your heart are all Christ's,—this will be a security against evil, this will be a power to win others to the knowledge of the truth. May Christ make you all such preachers of the gospel,—open-eyed, large-hearted, free-spoken communicators of God's message of salvation, imitators of God himself and of Christ his Son in utter abandonment of consecration ! The gospel is the revelation of the heart of God. Let your preaching of it be the revelation of your very hearts, so that men looking into your hearts shall see the very heart of God.

1898

OFFICIALISM

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS :—Few classes of the seminary have done more regular or creditable work than yours. We should grieve to part with you

if we did not know that the past is a prophecy of the future. But even method and faithfulness have their dangers. Routine tends to hardness. Duty may become stereotyped. Spontaneity may be lost. Service may come to be a treadmill, and the minister of the gospel a soulless drillmaster and martinet. Rigid and dogmatic, he may lose all the warmth of his own Christian life, and he may misrepresent the Christian life to others. I wish to speak to you of OFFICIALISM, its causes, its results, and its cure.

The root of it is in us all. My distinguished predecessor used to say that every man is as lazy as circumstances will admit. Thinking is the hardest sort of work, and we spare ourselves as much of it as we can. We become creatures of habit, that is, we give over much of our activity to the subordinate nervous centers in order that the higher may be left free. The praying or the teaching that began with genuine fervor and interest comes to be performed mechanically. The man might as well be an automaton. He comforts himself with the idea that he is doing a vast deal of work. But really *he* is doing nothing. His hands and his tongue are busy, but the mind and the heart are absent. The life has gone out of him. Satan has captured his soul, and makes certain physical members of his go through the motions instead.

Intellectually the preacher may become a mere parrot, a retailer of other men's interpretations of Scripture, a blind copyist of other men's theology. He may get his subjects from the homiletical monthlies and his taking points from the cyclopedias of illustrations. The result will be a loss of all original insight, of all

boldness, of all real faith. He will be afraid to say that his soul is his own. He will become the camp-follower of some school, unless indeed he begins to doubt whether there is any truth, and so becomes a mere time-server, skeptic, and hypocrite. Oh, it is pitiful to see one whom God has called to be his mouthpiece and representative reduced to the rank of a blind organ grinder, a paid court crier, preaching because he has to say something, rather than because he has something to say.

Officialism is not always due to laziness ; it is sometimes due to ambition. The pastor finds it hard to induce his flock to do their duty ; he concludes to do it for them. The rational development of their conscience and activity is too slow a process ; he takes their place and supersedes them. Church democracy becomes church autocracy ; the pastor becomes a lord over God's heritage. All manner of sacramental and mechanical conceptions of Christianity take possession of the members of the church. They look up to their minister as a priest. Religion becomes an *opus operatum* which they pay him to perform. Human nature, even Baptist human nature, yields easily to the temptation, and the pastor flowers out into a bishop.

No man can be trusted with absolute power. Officialism arrogates to itself more and more authority until it becomes arbitrary. The evil ripens till it falls. Other men besides the pastor like to have their way. They rebel against his leadership. Soon there is division, and the pastor is voted out. Baptists will not permanently surrender their liberties to an ecclesiastical caste. I am persuaded that this officialism that takes

the reins into its own hands and usurps the authority belonging to the church is one of the main causes of instability in the pastorate. Seek power and preferment, live for the loaves and fishes, and you will move frequently and never be satisfied. Office is a means, not an end. To make it an end is to pervert it, and finally to lose it.

How may we guard against officialism? How may we avoid formality, insincerity, the dead-alive method of preaching and pastoral work on the one hand, and the self-assertion and transforming of the servant into a lord on the other? Christ must have provided some prophylactic for this great evil. It lies in his word. The Bible contains material for thought, the stirring-up of emotion, and the rousing of the will. Study of the Scriptures will give a fresh apprehension of truth. A man may know all the sciences and yet be a perfunctory minister; but it is very rare to find a man thoroughly versed in the word of God who is not faithful and alive in his ministerial work.

But it is not enough to know the truth. We must also do the truth. Here certainly is the taproot of all error and malpractice,—the spirit of disobedience. In the evil will is the beginning of officialism. A single secret sin will make us shy of the truth, unable to see the truth, and, when we do see it, unwilling to act upon it. Self-surrender to the truth must go with study of the truth. Come to the Book with simple desire to know and to do the will of God, and it is amazing what light shines from the sacred page. Passage after passage seems aglow. The dead bones live. The commonplace becomes sublime. What had before no power to

rouse us seems full of the very power of God. We can preach it to others, nay, we cannot help preaching it to others. Like Peter and John we cannot but speak forth the things we have seen and heard, and we are filled with a solemn joy as we find ourselves commissioned to declare God's thoughts to men.

But there is a condition. We must declare this truth and no other. We must add nothing of our own. No false fire must be kindled. Mere rhetoric for rhetoric's sake, the letting of ourselves loose in wordy and windy talk, the striving after sensational effects, is an adulterating of the gospel and a grieving of the Spirit of God. As in speaking to God our words should be few, so in speaking for God our words should be few. But they should mean a great deal. Pausing to get the true word is better before God and man than rushing on glibly with the wrong one. If we are to be proclaimers of God's truth, every word must be a conscientious word. The seriousness of the message must appear in the exactness with which we deliver it. God will take care of the eloquence, if we only take care of the truth.

To study the truth, to do the truth, to say the truth,— is that the end? No, we must also *be* the truth. That might seem the hardest of all. But really it is the easiest, and it is the way to all the rest. For it means only to be joined vitally to Christ who is the truth. This is the one lesson which before all others I have tried to teach you. Not mere imitation of Christ, but appropriation of Christ, is Christianity. He comes into the believing and obedient soul, makes it his dwelling-place and temple, manifests himself in it, as he filled the ancient tabernacle with the Shekinah glory. With that

glory of Christ within, can a minister of the gospel be a lazy and perfunctory preacher, or an arrogant and ambitious pastor? Nay verily, that glory is the glory not only of life and power, but of love and self-sacrifice.

The one remedy for officialism, the panacea which works a radical and permanent cure, is simply union with Christ. In the vision of the prophet Zechariah, the golden candlestick from which shone the light of God was fed by golden pipes from a living source in two olive trees that stood on either side of it. So Christ and his Spirit furnish the true minister of the gospel with an abundant and perpetual supply. The oil for the candlestick will never fail, because he is secretly connected with Christ the Life and Light of the world. Christ pours into him his wisdom, vitality, strength. Joined to Christ, and with the conduits kept clear by obedience and prayer, the very spirit of Christ becomes the spirit of his minister, and his preaching and his life become the very power of God to men's salvation.

Prince Bismarck once said that the hope of the world was Christianity without phrases. Reality is the watchword of the age. In philosophy we are striving to get beyond phrases to essential meanings, beyond symbols to underlying truths. Legal fictions are outgrown in theology,—we want to know the relations they represent. All science ends in ontology. There are things and beings; we can know them; we will not rest till we have drawn aside the veil and have seen the truth. You go out into a world that demands, as it has demanded in no previous age, fact instead of fiction, substance instead of show, reality instead of imagination.

Not mere officialism, however imposing, but character, conduct, life,—these are the things that win. Manhood, naturalness, genuine power, are greater forces than ever before. The false, pretentious, perfunctory, is scouted and despised ; but the sincere, the living, the real, is revered by all. But this truly natural comes only from God. Only the supernatural is the truly natural. And my last word to you, members of the Class of 1898, is that you guard yourselves against officialism in the ministry by keeping in constant union with Jesus Christ, the Wisdom and Truth and Life and Power of God.

1899

PERSISTENCE

BRETHREN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS :—You have come with the help of God to the end of a long course of study and of sacrifice. Some of you have given up secular avocations which furnished an assured support. It has required great economy and occasional hardship to push your way through. You have been walking by faith, for it was not a matter of demonstration that you were called to the ministry or that you would succeed in it. I congratulate you that the preparatory training and trial are now over. You have shown something of that sustained effort toward a distant end, without which there is no strong character. You have a new sense of power, and a new faith in God. You may well thank God and take courage.

Will it seem unsympathetic if I remind you that the reward of a duty done is the power to do another ; that the obstacles thus far overcome are not only not the last, but are really only the beginning of a long series ; that past victories are only intended to strengthen and encourage for new conflict ; that, instead of being a time to settle down and rest, this is the time to gird up your loins for the real work of your lives ? Yet this is my message to you to-night. I bid you remember that Alp upon Alp rises before you : the ascent is arduous and will tax your strength. From these quiet halls you go into the thick of the fight : you will need all your courage. And the one word that I would have ring in your ears continually is the word PERSISTENCE.

You have begun to learn the art of preaching. But preaching is the study of a lifetime. You have made a few good sermons. But if you regard these as a stock in trade, they may be your undoing. Nothing is more pitiable than the preacher whose trial sermon is his best, and who never preaches another so good. Cultivate a noble discontent with past achievements. Make every success a stepping-stone to one still greater. You cannot do this without incessant labor. The modern pulpit requires abounding resources. After a little experience in preaching twice each Sunday to the same congregation, you will be conscious of an aching void ; your ideas will be exhausted ; you will be tempted to pull up your stakes and seek a new pastorate. I charge you then to recall this closing address. Set yourselves to new study of the Scripture and to new pondering of your own experience. Give up all dependence upon the past and begin to make your own sermons. Another year of

original thinking will make men of you. You will discover that you have peculiar gifts. You will get a new hold of your people. You will enter upon a career as preachers that may last as long as Doctor Maclaren's and may possibly be as useful.

Pastoral work requires persistence. The first few years are but an apprenticeship. Many of your church will regard you as a boy, however determined you may be that no man shall despise your youth. There is a confidence which only prolonged acquaintance can beget. There are measures which you can easily carry in the fourth and fifth years of your pastorate which you cannot possibly carry in the first or the second year. Remember that these impressions of your people are to some degree correct. Your opinions are not so worthy of respect at the beginning as they will be after you have learned to know your church. And you cannot have at first that confidence in yourself which is needed to win the confidence of others. For this reason an exceedingly short first pastorate is often the ruin of a man. He never gets over the sense of failure which that first experience has given him.

Remember that there are difficulties everywhere, and leaving one church for another is only jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. There will be some opposers everywhere. Resolve that you will subdue them by love. Kindness to them and to their children will commonly make them friends. But even if you cannot make them friends, you have no right to leave the church on account of a small number who cherish discontent. If you bury yourself in your work and give every energy to your people, you may trust your cause

to God and believe that he will vindicate you. He can make even your enemies to be at peace with you. He can make your endurance an object-lesson to ungodly men, so that at last you win them to Christ. The good Shepherd sought the lost sheep "until he found it." Go thou and do likewise.

For these reasons I give you my counsel to be content with nothing less than four or five years in your first pastorate. That first pastorate will set the standard for those that come after. Do not leave your first church until you can see that you have accomplished something permanent there, something that will abide after you have departed. Be sure that the church is better in numbers, in organization, in liberality, in discipline, than it was when you took charge of it. Be sure that you have done all you can for the ungodly men of the community before you leave them. Only a sublime persistence will enable you at the end of your ministry to say what George Fox, the Quaker, said when he was dying: "I am clear! I am clear!"

Be persistent in the care of your own souls. Remember that nothing here is done, so long as anything yet remains to be done. The Christian pastor who neglects his own spiritual life in order to minister to others will soon find that he has nothing to give. In an old Bible belonging to Oliver Cromwell was found this inscription: "O. C., 1644—*Qui cessat esse melior cessat esse bonus*"—"He who ceases to be better ceases to be good." Luther's maxim was: "He who *is* a Christian is *no* Christian." And Paul's was after the same pattern: "I count not myself yet to have apprehended: but one thing I do . . . I press on toward the

goal." Have you been striving to be good men, in order that you might be fit ministers of Jesus Christ? I urge you to strive yet more earnestly as you enter upon your work. Satan has desired to sift you as wheat. He will tempt you through pride and through lust. Continue steadfastly in prayer, and buffet the body, bringing it into bondage, lest by any means, after you have preached to others, you yourselves should be cast away.

The church comes to reflect the character of its pastor. An aggressive, determined, persistent pastor makes an aggressive, determined, and persistent church. Let the pastor then reflect the persistence of his Lord,—not the persistence of self-will, but the persistence of love, the persistence that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Where can you learn this persistence of love but from the Lord of love, Jesus Christ himself? Human nature is weak and fickle. Our resolutions are brittle as spun glass. Trust in our own strength will give us only a broken reed to lean upon. But we have something better than that,—even the truth of God, that shall endure when all that seems shall suffer shock.

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so ;
That howsoe'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, thou canst not change.
I steadier step when I recall,
Howe'er I slip, thou canst not fall.

Those are noble lines of Arthur Hugh Clough. But they are too abstract. We want not only the truth of God, but also the Spirit of God, to steady us and give

us persistence. It is my great satisfaction to assure you that you may be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inward man, and so may be filled with all the fullness of God. There is no way by which mortal men may be made immutable but by becoming partakers of the divine nature and sharers of the immutability of God. Dear brethren, you go to widely separated parts of the earth. Each one of you has his own nature and his own work. But the omnipresent and omnipotent Spirit of God goes with you. We commend you to his care, believing that he will give you the grace of persistence to the end, the patient continuance in well-doing, which both endures and perseveres.



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